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The Week

THERE is one aspect of the recent renewal of war in Europe between Germany and the Allies to which the newspapers in this country have not directed sufficient attention. The action of France and Great Britain in submitting an ultimatum which they knew the Germans could not accept and in rushing the penalties for refusing immediately into effect looked, even to those who were inclined to approve of the British and French demands, unnecessarily and unwisely precipitate. So it undoubtedly was. Yet there was a purpose in this precipitation. Lloyd George and Briand probably forced the crisis on Germany, not as a suitable and probably successful method of collecting the largest possible indemnity from their enemy, but for the sake of the effect on America of a renewal of hostilities. They calculated that a new birth of war would render the Harding administration and American public opinion less favorable to the negotiation of a separate peace with Germany. If so, they calculated shrewdly. Apparently the Republican leaders have decided to modify or abandon the Knox resolution insofar as it sought to reach any arrangement with Germany about which London and Paris are not fully consulted.

CONSULTATIONS have apparently already begun. They are officially announced in Paris and practically acknowledged in Washington. Their object, so the French Foreign Office asserts, is to discover whether the Allies cannot modify the Covenant of the League so as to remove American objections to it. This disclosure of the object of the negotiations is not, we fear, entirely candid. The French never have been interested in the League of Nations. They have regarded it as a Utopian idea which interfered with French military supremacy on the Continent of Europe. But they are intensely interested in the Treaty of Versailles, which was written to perpetuate existing French supremacy, and they are no less interested in the proposed English-French-American Alliance, the tendency of which was to make the two great maritime Powers the guarantor of the French continental policy. The real object of the consultation from the French point of view is, we feel certain, not the negotiation of a League of Peace to which America will adhere, but that of securing the signature of the American government to the Treaty and American assistance in its future execution by force.

A DISPATCH from Washington to the New York World, dated March 11th, tends to confirm the foregoing interpretation of French policy. "The best information available," says this dispatch, "is that President Harding, Secretary Hughes and Senator Lodge are agreed that America's abnormal relations with Germany must cease. There appears to be a preference that through an understanding with the Allied Powers this country may become a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, although with

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the covenant of the League of Nations deleted and the entire Treaty so renovated as not to implicate the United States in any manner with the League." The World correspondent then adds without cracking a smile that "every sign points to a desire on the part of France to accommodate the United States in this respect."

THIS desire on the part of France "to accommodate the United States" by releasing them from all obligations with respect to the League of Nations in return for a signature and guarantee of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles is, considering the history of the Paris negotiations of 1919, a piece of Homeric humor. Remember what the sequence of events would be. In Paris Lloyd George and Clemenceau "bamboozle" Woodrow Wilson into agreeing to a Treaty which violates most of the Wilson Fourteen Points by yielding to his insistence upon an Association of Nations. The Republicans repudiate the Treaty, ostensibly because they will not commit this country to the obligations of the Covenant. The Republicans come into power. The French then magnanimously offer to forget all about the League of Nations, provided the Republican administration will sign the Treaty. The French secure American signature to the Treaty and American help in enforcing its penalties, while the American government surrenders the quid pro quo which its predecessor originally accepted in return for the sacrifice of American ideals in writing the Treaty. Is it conceivable that the Harding administration will carry its anti-Wilsonism to this extent? We cannot answer this question; but we call attention to two sinister hints. One is that according to the same dispatch "President Harding may request Senator Lodge to share the burden of the negotiation with Secretary Hughes." The other is that the administration will insist upon an unqualified recognition of America's rights in relation to mandated territories and the like. Is this an indirect way of intimating that the Republican administration will sign the Treaty in return for an assurance of a more substantial American share in its spoils?

THE New York Tribune's Washington correspondent, Mr. Carter Field, tells us that within a few weeks the entire fleet will be ordered to concentrate in the Pacific. Elementary naval strategy demands that if the fleet is to be effective, it is essential to concentrate it in one ocean or the other, no matter from which quarter an attack is expected, rather than to divide its forces between both. The choice of the Pacific rather than the Atlantic is also a wise one. It does not necessarily mean that the chances of war with Great Britain are less than the chances of war with Japan. Assuming war with Great Britain to be just as likely as war with Japan, it would probably come about very differently. We should drift into a war with Great Britain, after weeks or months of exchanges, doubts, delays, all of them opportunities for preparation. In the case of Japan, war might suddenly burst upon us. In 1904, Japan actually attacked the Russians before the declaration of war. War with England might happen inevitably, reluctantly, slowly, but Japan would be tempted to strike all at once or never strike at all. And that, rather than any expectation that she intends to strike, is why our fleet should be in the Pacific.

APPARENTLY General Leonard Wood is not to be Governor of the Philippines, but he is to go there just the same, on a military assignment, in order to report on "conditions," and particularly on the present fitness of the natives for self-government. General Wood is selected because he is a "strong figure," and the right kind of man to deal with "seditious" tendencies in the Islands. Where is the line between "sedition" and a just impatience at postponement of the independence the Filipinos know we have in mind for them? Insurrection is one thing, aptitude and longing for self-government is another. A soldier is qualified to deal with the first; but, as to the latter, we do not see how a member of the national institution which depends most on iron discipline and least on self-government is fit to be a judge of it.

TO say the least, the appointment of Mr. D. R Crissinger of Marion, Ohio, as Comptroller of the Currency is not a brilliant one. But as things are it is not inappropriate. Could one find better reason, according to the logic of most of President Harding's appointments, for the choice of a man who has so long blushed unseen than the fact that Mr. Crissinger was a boyhood friend of the President, and a Democrat who now "decidedly leans" toward Republicanism? Yet there are other excellent reasons for promoting Mr. Crissinger from Marion big business to one of the most important financial posts in the government. A statement from the White House enumerates them. Item: Mr. Crissinger "is an experienced and expert farmer, particularly in the realm of live-stock raising." Item: he helped establish, in Marion, perhaps "the most perfect automatic telephone system in the country." But here is the best reason why Mr. Crissinger, more than any one else, is entitled

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to be Comptroller of the Currency. He is a director of the Marion Steam Shovel Company, "the greatest industry . . . . of its kind in the world," and in that quality he is a producer of the steam shovels that "did the lion's share of excavating the great ditch of the Isthmus" in the Panama Canal. From steam shovels to Comptroller of the world's largest collection of currency, is a new and remarkable version of the American tradition of "from office boy to President."

THE surpassing virtue of our Constitution, according to the old-fashioned authorities, was that it created a sphere of personal liberty within which the individual was immune from interference even by the highest administrative or legislative authority of state or nation. The Constitution looked down upon human affairs from so exalted a height that the rights of the meanest individual and the rights of a mighty government appeared of practically equal magnitude, equally entitled to consideration when conflict arose between them. But no such serene doctrine could be expected to maintain its hold in these yeasty days. That apostle of radicalism, Justice Clarke, has now apparently laid down the principle that the Constitution exists for the exclusive defence of the government; let the individual beware. "The Constitution," he says, " was adopted to preserve our government, not to serve as a protecting screen for those who, while claiming its privileges, seek to destroy it." That may be new law; but analogous devices for the summary resolving of a tangle of conflicting interests are very old. No doubt they were freely employed by even the most respectable of the Greek Sophists. But the only ancient instance that occurs to us, we regret to say, is the argument by which the pimp Labrax in the Rudens of Plautus sought to prove that an oath he had taken to pay a certain sum of money was not binding. Jus jurandum rei servandae, non perdendae conditum est.—"The oath was instituted to protect one's interest, not to destroy it."

UNTIL very recently, there were a good many thousand men, in the mills of the United States Steel Corporation, who worked seven days in the week; and a good many thousand more who worked twenty-four hours at a stretch every two weeks because there had been found no more sensible way of changing them from the day to the night shift. And now at last Judge Gary has announced that the seven day week and the long turn have been eliminated by the Steel Corporation and all its companies. We hear various expressions of pleasure about us. The New York World says that "the statement will meet general approval"; and multitudes of people feel no more strongly than this. For our part, we salute this "reform" with as much joy as we should, in this year 1921, hear news that Negroes could no longer be sold as if they were furniture, or that Harvey has discovered the circulation of the blood. Even were one prepared to hail this change as one of the victories of progress, and not as arrears of decency paid shamefully late, the satisfaction would be mixed. For the 12-hour day has not yet been abolished.

SUMMARY hangings are now taking place in Ireland. A group of men recently made prisoner were executed in Dublin March 14th, a few days after three Sinn Fein citizens in Limerick were victims of what is supposed to be the Black and Tans' murder gang. The Dublin executions are regarded as part of the process of law and order by the military authorities, but the Sinn Fein leaders point out that these executions cut right across Lloyd George's theory that a state of war exists in Ireland. If it is excusable to kill women and children because a state of war exists, is it excusable to kill captured belligerents? In regard to these hangings, George Russell said in advance of them, "If these penalties are allowed to be inflicted, if the evidence of dozens of witnesses is to be set aside, the soul of Ireland will grow as far apart from the possibility of friendship with Britain as the earth is from the Pole Star." The assassinations in Limerick have in no way been commented upon by the authorities, so far as our newspaper reports show. The young mayor, George Clancy, had been a professor of languages in the National University. Like the ex-Mayor, Michael O'Callaghan, he was a prominent Republican. Meanwhile, "peace" talk is being promoted by men like Sir Edward Carson, Shane Leslie and "General Cockerill, chief of the British Intelligence Department during the Boer War." The fact that twenty-five Sinn Fein members are in prison is said to hamper these negotiations.

BETWEEN March 17th and March 27th, the American Committee for Relief in Ireland will carry on a campaign to raise $10,240,000. Disorder in Ireland has thrown large numbers of men and women out of work, and in many places people live on charity alone. In Dublin, during the last year, 5,800 children were dependent on school rations. Families of from five to nine have been found living on a pound a week. There is much misery more directly due to civil war. The Cork fire threw 3,000 men out of work. More than 1,000 Irish homes have been burned in the last

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year. Forty creameries have been destroyed. Relief will be administered on a non-sectarian, non-political basis, and the directors of the campaign have been told by certain British military authorities that constructive relief from America would be highly beneficial.

America and the War After the War

THE majority of American citizens, when they learned of the advance of the French and British troops into Germany, probably agreed in one important respect in their attitude towards the new war. They rejoiced that American soldiers were not engaged in the invasion. Although they may have differed radically in their judgment as to the merits of the controversy, they were united in being thankful that American good repute was not compromised by any share in the motives and any responsibility for the consequences of the French and British tour de force. In effect they congratulated themselves on their refusal to sign the Treaty of Versailles and on the recovery of that independence in foreign policy, which they had partly abandoned when they became one of the Allied and Associated Powers. The invasion of Germany will confirm their conclusion that the Treaty of Peace has brought with it no appeasement and that the European national feuds and animosities, the consequences of which persuaded so many of their ancestors to come to the New World, are more than ever in danger of becoming incorrigible.

This prevalent American verdict upon the renewal of the Great War is, we believe, essentially sound. European statesmen wrote the Treaty of Versailles to perpetuate the political and economic domination in Europe of the victors. Justice, fair dealing and consent form no part of the sanctions of the Treaty. It establishes as the chief instrument of international order in Europe a contract which victors and vanquished are bound to execute, which cannot be executed without force, but which cannot be executed by force without involving economic disorganization and social dissolution. That is its essential vice: and it is a vice which even those European statesmen who understand its dangers act as if they were impotent to remedy. Take the case of Lloyd George. British interests, as he saw clearly, demanded reconciliation with Germany, but the French attitude made reconciliation impossible. He was faced with the alternatives of either breaking with France or of joining France in the coercion of Germany. He elected the second alternative as the less of the two evils, and if this country had signed the Treaty the American government would have followed his example. For the first alternative,—that of breaking with France in the interest of reconciliation with Germany—would imply ultimately the revision of the Treaty. And a nation which signs the Treaty voluntarily will undertake unwillingly and only as a last resort the dangerous and incalculable job of revision.

Yet thankful as we may be that the American government is not committed in advance to any one side in the renewal of the Great War, it would be a grave mistake for the American nation in the present emergency to try again Mr. Wilson's first policy of irresponsible neutrality. It is just as urgent and important for America to intervene in the new war as it was for her to intervene in the old war, and in the end intervention of some kind will be no less inevitable. Her re-acquired independence is salutary, not because it emancipates her for further intervention in Europe but because it enables her to intervene, if she must and should, as a mediator rather than as a belligerent. Europe is at this moment suffering and dying for the lack of an independent, disinterested and powerful third party. Lloyd George tried to mediate between France and Germany, but his fear of the consequences of breaking with France disqualified him for the job of honest broker. Great Britain has finally abandoned her historic rôle as the balance-wheel of continental politics. If there is to be any health in Europe, America must take her place. America has broken away from the war alliance but without having given hostages to Germany. While she is entangled in the European tragedy, she is no longer entangled only on one side. She still has the chance of redeeming the victory which her economic and military power rendered possible by associating with it an honest and intelligent attempt to secure a permanent peace.

America's situation today with respect to the new European war is analogous to her situation towards the Great War in the winter of 1916-17. At that time the German government decided to risk engaging America on the side of its enemies by unleashing the submarine, because America's economic power, placed as it was by international law at the disposal of the Allies, appeared to be resulting inexorably in Allied victory. She could not be allowed to stay out. Her power, whether as a belligerent or as a neutral, was bound to form a decisive element in the contest. So it is today. America, no matter how high a value she places on her regained independence, cannot stay out of the new war. Even more clearly than in 1917 her policy will either prolong the war or bring it to an end and will result in the victory either of one

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party or the other. By writing a separate peace with Germany she would so far encourage the Germans in their resistance that the attempt at coercion might well fail. By signing the Treaty at Versailles and so endorsing the French and British attempt to execute it, she would leave the Germans no alternative but anarchy or violence and would seal the doom of central Europe. By remaining neutral and by insisting on the payment of the debts from her former Allies she would irritate all the economic and political sores of Europe and render impossible their cure except by a surgical operation.

In 1917, when America did finally intervene; she intervened on one side, but in the interest nevertheless of ultimate international conciliation. Her responsibility on the premises is the same in 1921 and her opportunity to redeem it is clearer and better. Intervention as a mediator in 1921 has a good chance of accomplishing for permanent pacification all she sought to accomplish by intervention as a belligerent in 1917. She cannot intervene in the new war merely on the side of Germany even though she believed that the Germans are suffering from unjustifiable oppression. The living memories and loyalties of the old war forbid such a course. Neither should she intervene merely as an Allied and Associate Power, for in that event she would entangle herself once again in the feuds and animosities which she is congratulating herself on having escaped. But she can go in as a friendly, disinterested and powerful third party. The European indebtedness to her and the comparative abundance of her economic resources have given her as much power to effect a settlement as her untouched supplies of goods and men did in 1917. She can use her existing control of credit either to intensify and perpetuate European feuds and animosities or to create a new economic co-partnership of the industrial nations of Europe which will tend to assuage their apparently irreconcilable conflicts.

The new war is provoked by the difficulties of apportioning the costs of the old war. The victors are staggering under a colossal burden of debt, which they naturally wish to shift as far as possible to the shoulders of the vanquished. But the vanquished declare themselves quite unable to pay as the victors demand, and we have never seen any calculation by a reputable economist which did not tend to vindicate them in their refusal. Neither have we ever read any formulation for Christian morality which did not justify them in declining to promise to pay a sum of money which they believed themselves incapable of paying.

The German refusal is substantially a confession of bankruptcy—a protest against the attempt to collect the debt by imprisoning the debtor and forcing his labor. The penalties for default which the British and French are exacting will, as they well know, never result in the collection of the debt, but their state of mind is such that, if they cannot collect, they can compensate themselves by humiliating, punishing and ruining their enemy. The new war, like all war, uses destruction as a weapon. If it is prolonged, the ruin of Germany and of central Europe becomes only a question of time. France and Great Britain, like Germany from 1914 to 1917, will be carried on by the logic and the momentum of their policy to drastic extremities of force. The failure of the first penalties to produce substantial returns will result in a demand not for their relaxation but for their indefinite extension. The ultimate result may well be sheer terrorism. One observer, described by Mr. Mark Sullivan in the New York Evening Post as being competent to interpret for Americans what is going on in Europe, predicts the penetration of Germany by the French on the west and the Poles on the east with the object of breaking her up politically, carrying away all her movable property and destroying for generations the mechanism of her economic life.

The gloom of this sketch is exaggerated, but it is not wholly fantastic and irrelevant. There are in general only two ways of dealing with the existing political and economic deadlock in Europe. One is by moving in the direction of conciliation and reconstruction along the road of compromise, adjustment and consent. The other is by waging an economic and political war after the war of armies, for the supposed benefit of the victorious peoples. France and Great Britain have on the whole pursued the second policy since the Armistice. If they continue to pursue it, they will not only ruin Germany, but they will ruin themselves and set civilization back perhaps for centuries. There are powerful elements in the public opinion of both countries but particularly in Great Britain which prefer the first policy and see clearly the disastrous drift of the second; but they are handicapped by the apparent inability of their own governments to meet their liabilities unless Germany pays more than she proposes to pay. The Allies are so near to bankruptcy themselves that in the effort to avert it, they are ready, as the German ruling class was in 1917, to catch at any desperate and ruinous remedy which may prevent or delay their own default.

The American government has the power enormously to relieve the tension in Europe and to strengthen the hands of those Frenchmen and Englishmen who are working for reconciliation and restoration. It can avert bankruptcy by helping to scale down the liabilities, the burden of which is

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preventing European recovery, distracting European statesmanship and disintegrating European order. By offering to cancel the debt which the Allies owe to the United States, provided the Allies in their turn cancel their debts one to another and scale down the German reparations account to a tolerable figure, it would blunt the edges of the economic distress which is now lacerating Europe. By offering in addition to underwrite a reasonable amount of German reparation bonds, provided the Allies agreed to a substantial reduction in their expenditure on armaments and to the economic reunion of Central Europe, it would do away with the worst obstacles to the quick economic recovery of Europe and supply the tonic of credit which the sick man so sorely needs. If the American government proposed this solution, it would almost certainly bring the new war to a quick and inglorious end. It would start Europe on the road to reconciliation and appeasement and it would, to an extent never anticipated by Canning, mobilize the resources of the New World to restore the moral and physical balance of the Old.

We are only too well aware of the obstacles which will interfere with the adoption by the Harding administration of any such policy of constructive mediation. Politicians will consider the proposal to cancel the debt suicidal, and a powerful element in the Republican party will violently oppose the exercise of any pressure on the Allies in the interest of a more conciliatory policy towards Germany. Nevertheless we do not despair. American public opinion has learned a good deal in the last six years. It understands the large part which the European war after the war plays in the economic maladies of the United States, and under able and courageous leadership it would soon adjust itself to the idea of going to the assistance of Europe as a disinterested and friendly third party. Of course the American people would first have to be convinced that the only way to collect the debt is to cancel it, but the Harding administration, backed by a consensus of expert business opinion, has at present sufficient authority to popularize even this paradoxical truth. Public opinion would ultimately accept from the President and the majority of Republican leaders a policy which promised to alleviate the devastating effect of the existing destitution, suffering and hatred.

The European policy of President Harding is still unannounced and unformulated. The revival of war in Europe has increased the desirability of quick and effective action, but it has rendered more doubtful the policy embodied in the Knox resolution of moving towards a separate peace with Germany. Mr. Harding must find a substitute. Although he is not committed to any definite program he has bound himself by certain general pledges. He is pledged to use American power and influence for the benefit of a return to normal conditions and of permanent pacification, and he is pledged to accomplish these results without compromising the future independence of American foreign policy. The situation produced by the new war in Europe offers him a brilliant opportunity of redeeming both of these pledges. He can by constructive mediation end the war without spending a dollar on increased armaments, without sacrificing any negotiable American interest and without committing this country to any obnoxious responsibility in the event of future disturbances of the European peace. He would, at the same time, balance American accounts with Europe in reference to the old war and give to the peoples of both continents an infinitely better chance of getting back to productive labor. He cannot by any other policy accomplish a correspondingly beneficial result. If he remains neutral and asks for payment of the debt he will perpetuate the war after the war and contribute positively to the ruin rather than the recovery of Europe. He will even more effectively increase the destitution, suffering and demoralization if he merely encourages the Allies in their coercion of Germany. Yet unless his administration is to consist of deeds rather than of words, he must act. He can only act effectively and helpfully as a disinterested and clear-headed mediator between the Allies and Germany and not either as an accomplice of any one side or as a lofty and irresponsible outlander.

Neutrality in the Industrial Conflict

"FOR God's sake"—writes one of our friends, aroused by our handling of a certain episode in the industrial struggle—"is Labor *always* right? Is Capital *always* in the wrong?" Writes another: "I seem to detect, under an apparent attempt to be fair, a persistent leaning toward the side of Labor." A third writes: "The gravest defect I find with your treatment of questions of Labor and Capital is that you are not neutral. Are you aware that your influence depends upon your maintaining absolute neutrality?"

Are we or are we not under an obligation to our readers of maintaining a position of neutrality in the conflict between labor and capital? Well, neutrality means a number of different things to different persons, and any ambiguity here has to be cleared up, first of all. Does it mean just common fairness, a readiness to admit that in every pro-

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longed conflict, there is an idealism as well as an egoism on both sides; a tendency on either side to commit "atrocities," and to charge the other side with a sum of atrocities vastly in excess of the reality? In that sense we ought to be "neutral," of course. We ought to recognize that there are laborers who are shirks as well as employers who are slave drivers; laborers who take their pay without giving full value for it as well as employers who exploit their working personnel. We ought to recognize that there are labor leaders who make trouble in order to be bought off as well as employers who make trouble in order to boost the price of an accumulating surplus of products. We ought to recognize that there are captains of industry, as well as leaders of labor, who are thinking, not primarily in terms of their own immediate advantage, but in terms of the better state to be realized in the future. All this we ought to recognize, and we do. And if we do not employ a disquisition in this spirit as an introduction to every industrial discussion, it is because we are somewhat doubtful of our right to bore our readers to death.

Scrupulous fairness to both sides, then, is an obligation we recognize, and endeavor, to the best of our ability, to live up to. No doubt we often fall short of this ideal. Being human, we are subject to error, and when we are convicted of it we can only bow our heads and say Peccavimus. But none of this touches the point of neutrality, as we conceive the term. You can try to be fair without taking sides. You can try to be fair while taking sides quite definitely. The former we conceive to be true neutrality. And we think it a curious logic which affirms that such neutrality, while reprehensible and immoral in the case of an international conflict, becomes necessarily moral and approvable in the case of a domestic conflict. There must be a place for neutrality in the scheme of human relations, else how could the idea have won for itself such universal esteem? Let us see whether it is possible to define that place. We shall then be clearer as to the circumstances in which the obligation of neutrality does not apply.

Where an issue has no important bearing upon interests more general than those of the contestants, one can morally be an "outsider" and ought to be neutral. One can be neutral in respect to a chess tournament, or a Wisconsin-Minnesota foot ball game. Where the conflict, though perhaps of general importance, plays itself out within rules accepted by both parties, neutrality is again morally obligatory. If, for example, a general wage scale has been agreed upon between workers and employers, and a dispute has arisen as to the precise application of the terms, neutrality and unbiased judgment are morally obligatory upon every outsider who concerns himself with the dispute. So in international affairs, if our country has entered into a treaty governing certain relations, there is no moral standing for the partisanship that would warp the interpretation to our national advantage. But prior to all such agreements there is an episode of struggle. National and industrial groups meet to adjust sharply conflicting interests. Now, in respect to this struggle prior to the fixing of principles and agreements, are we morally bound to be neutral? Is it morally possible to be neutral, if anything bearing upon the general welfare is at stake? We do not believe it is. All that can be expected of us is that we should be candid and set forth frankly the nature of our partisanship.

We are aware that many will carp at the analogy we have drawn between international conflict and industrial. They will say that we are applying the ethics of war to a domestic condition which can be resolved only by peaceful methods. But international conflict is not the same thing as war. The United States is today involved in conflict over mandates, over the oriental immigration question, over American rights in Mexico, not to mention a great number of minor issues. The nation will always be engaged in one conflict or another, so long as nationalism persists. But it will not settle those conflicts by war unless on the one side or the other statesmanship breaks down altogether. Labor and capital, as we see it, will always have conflicting interests, as well as cooperative interests, so long as the present industrial system lasts. There will always be opposing views as to the distribution of the product of industry, as to the tenure of employment, as to industrial control. There are, to be sure, optimists who think that a universal principle of justice can be found, which, neutrally applied, will resolve all conflict. As to the theoretical possibility of such a principle, we are content to be noncommittal. We should be wholly sceptical of any practical formulation that might be proposed. We do not foresee any circumstances in which the employing class will transfer to the workers a significant control of industry unless they are compelled to do it. We do not foresee any circumstances in which workers will abandon the effort to throw off autocratic employer rule of industry, unless they are beaten in the effort. We have no belief whatever that the conflict will be ended by magnanimous yielding on either side, nor indeed that either side would make good use of power granted as a free gift. The future, as we see it, is one of recurrent labor attack and capital resistance, for the simple reason that capital now holds the intrenchments. And according to our conception, the moral duty of the outsider is not to observe a sterile and inhuman neutrality, but to do his best to keep the

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conflict from degenerating into one of atrocities and reprisals, of force applied without defined objectives, of war where diplomacy would answer better. Now, in this general conflict our sympathies are on the side of labor. We believe that the existing adjustment between labor and capital is essentially as unstable as it is morally untenable. The prevailing industrial relation took shape in generations only recently removed from serfdom; it presupposes a helpless, ignorant, semi-servile working class. Modern democratic society, however, does not produce such a working class, but one with education, intelligence, alertness to life, widely disseminated. Through the continuous importation of workers from backward regions it has been possible for our captains of industry to retain the position of industrial overlordship, but immigration must sooner or later prove a vanishing asset. What then? Will a democratically trained working class stand by mutely resigned while a handful of property owners shut down an industry, quite without regard to the multitude of working class families thereby deprived of their livelihood? Will they listen with patience to glowing accounts of millions that may be "saved" to the railroads through cutting wages—and transferred to the pockets of stockholders? Will they endure the recurrent abuses of the hiring and firing system?

In our opinion, they will not, and should not. They will demand institutional recognition of the fact that labor's stake in industry is greater than that of any other group in society, and that society's stake in labor is greater than its stake in any other class. Of the men now living, far the greater proportion must live by their daily labor; of the descendants of the people now living, of whatever class, far the greater part will, within a century, find themselves in the ranks of labor, to live as free men or as serfs according as labor wins or loses. Does any one charge us with neutrality, on such an issue? We should bitterly resent the charge.

In the general struggle between labor and capital we stand on the side of labor. We want labor to win. But that does not mean that we hold that labor is always right, in every particular contest. Labor will fight its futile and costly Gallipoli campaigns, its badly generalled battles of the Somme. We hold ourselves free to criticize its strategy, though all such criticism will be denounced as treason. Labor will commit atrocities, which we shall bitterly condemn and regret, wishing the side to which we are committed, to fight a cleaner fight than the enemy. Labor—or some fraction of labor—will advance immoderate and injurious war aims. We shall criticize them but not in the unmeasured terms of those who forget that preposterous war aims are also floated from the other side. Because we believe labor is destined to come into control of industry and the state, we wish to see it advance step by step, regardful of the interests of the whole community. We wish it to avoid mistakes and the pride that goeth before a fall. We know that labor will not always do this. Nevertheless, we are ready to stake our hopes of a better and happier world on the fundamental good sense and humanity of labor.

A New Railway Policy

THE report that Hoover may be commissioned by President Harding to formulate a railroad policy suggests a hope that the new administration will put its influence behind a more satisfactory plan of reorganization than the unfortunate legislation of 1920. The failure of the Esch-Cummins law is so patent and so complete that its defenders are lapsing into silence. It has failed because its authors never attempted to meet squarely the real difficulties of the problem. It was a hodge-podge compromise of many plans, which the compromisers were able to fit together only by eliminating everything that smacked of the courageous facing of facts. It was the fitting product of a mediocre, spineless and leaderless Congress.

If it is to avoid a similar failure, the new administration will need to approach the problem from a different point of view. The first task must be a frank appraisal of the conflicting interests at stake, and it must include other interests in addition to those which are vocal in Washington. The Esch-Cummins bill was a compromise between the regulating commissions, representing public officialdom the railway executives, representing private officialdom and the bankers. They were all interested primarily in the maintenance of the traditional American system of private ownership with public regulation. It was natural that public officials should oppose any plan which would deprive them of employment, power and prestige. It was natural that railway executives should be hostile to any scheme of reorganization which would impair their present sovereignty and bring them under national control. It was still more natural that bankers should fight with vehemence any reorganization which would deprive them of their present function as the directors and middlemen of railway finance.

The authors of a successful railway policy must recognize that these vocal interests fail to represent other interests which are equally important. The owner of railway securities presents an illuminating example. As a type he is a small investor, ignorant

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of railroad matters, voiceless so far as Congress is concerned. Yet so long as private financing remains, he is an essential factor in our railroad system. Nominally, insofar as his securities have the voting privilege, he controls the operation of the railroads of the United States. Actually, he cares nothing about control. His real interest lies in obtaining a certain and adequate dividend. As a class he would gladly surrender to the government the nominal control which his securities give him, if he could receive in its place the government's promise of a certain, even if it is a moderate, return on his investment.

What did the bankers and railway executives do who purported to represent him at the hearings in Congress? They fought bitterly to retain for the stockholders the illusory and nominal control of railroad operations which in fact has always been exercised by the bankers and executives themselves, and they rejected all those plans of reorganization under which security owners would have received a certain return. How has the stockholder fared under the Esch-Cummins law? The recent collapse of railroad securities tells the tale. After the six months of government guarantee, the brunt of the financial collapse of the railways has fallen on him. The average holder of railway securities would be better off today if the federal government had retained control of the railroads, or had taken title by purchase or eminent domain, even if it had adopted as unfavorable a principle of valuation as was proposed in the Plumb plan.

The average small shipper or consignee of railway freight is in an analogous position. His interest lies in a railway system which is financially and physically sound and which is operated from the point of view of national efficiency. He is best accommodated by a simple, intelligible and uniform rate structure. A few large shippers, and a few large shipping centres, are interested in maintaining competition between separate railroad corporations, for by playing off the railroads against each other, they are able to get special favors in the way of rates, facilities and service which other parts of the community cannot get. The railroad commissioners, state and national, are wedded to the principle of competition, for the most important and fascinating part of their work has been to arbitrate the competitive destinies of railways and communities. But the average small shipper or consignee will find his interests best protected by a railway system in which routes, rates and methods of shipment depend on consideration of cost and operating efficiency, and not on the vicissitudes of competition among a multitude of rival railway corporations.

Finally, there is another group more vocal than that of the crowd of small investors and smaller shippers, whose interests were insufficiently recognized by the Esch-Cummins law. We refer, of course, to the railway employees. The theory of the law is that the requirements of the railway management and the railway workers, insofar as they conflicted, should be settled if possible by conference and if necessary by public arbitration. These requirements have proved to be sharply conflicting.

The railroad system, as now organized and operated, appears unable to earn enough money both to guarantee to its employees their existing standard of living and to return an adequate rate of interest on the capital. The Esch-Cummins law does not set up any principles of fundamental railway policy which are capable of adjusting this conflict, and it is degenerating into a bitter contest between two militant, irreconcilable and suspicious economic group interests. If this contest is allowed to run its course, the railway management, which is at present the economically stronger group, will probably prevail in the end; but it will purchase its success at the expense of an amount of embittered resistance on the part of the railroad employees which will be fatal to the subsequent efficient operation of the railroads of the country.

Such are the chief factors which a successful railway policy must take into account. At important points these three interests, of investors, shippers and employees, sharply collide, and a workable adjustment and reconciliation will be a task calling for the highest statesmanship. But neither investor, shipper nor employee is interested in continuing the discredited and unworkable policy of the Esch-Cummins law. It is a law moulded by the ideas and framed for the benefit of bankers, executives and railway commissioners.

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Indemnities and Unemployment

EVERYONE knows that war has impoverished the continent of Europe. Nearly everyone in England begins to suspect that this general ruin goes far to explain our present crisis of unemployment. When the war came to its sudden end, our industries throve, for a time, on deferred and accumulated orders from the home market, and from certain distant markets overseas. This limited demand was rapidly satisfied, and today one-eighth of the workers in organized trades are unemployed, while many more are half-employed. We are now facing the fact that the ruin of Europe means the more or less permanent loss of a very big market. The catastrophe might be compared in its effects to some terrific upheaval of nature, which had submerged the broad plains between Siberia and the Rhine, leaving only a few highlands above the waters. Millions of these once prosperous populations have ceased to exist for us, in the sense that they can no longer demand or consume our goods.

With the German mark at a penny instead of a shilling, and the Polish mark at about a twelfth of a penny, there is nothing mysterious in the inability of the Continent to buy from us. Statistics tell us only what any economist could have predicted. Our Board of Trade has measured the general decline in our exports in 1920 by scaling down the value of their total to the average pre-war prices. The result is to show a drop of twenty-nine per cent in the volume of our export trade. One may carry the analysis further, by taking separately the returns for certain countries. Thus the shipping returns show that the net tonnage of the ships which cleared from our ports during 1920, for ports in Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary — using these terms in the old geographical sense — was less than a tenth of the total for 1913.

I have had the curiosity to scale down the values of our exports to Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary to the pre-war level. The volume of our exports to these countries was only fifteen per cent of what it was in 1913. It is, of course, the volume and not the value of trade which affects employment. The same amount of labor is required to hew a ton of coal, or to weave a yard of cotton cloth, whatever its selling price may be. In these figures alone, one may find a cause potent enough to explain the present unemployment. We have been ruining our customers by war and blockade, by peace and policy. We have burned them out in Ireland, and shot them down in India. We have invaded them in Russia and barred them from our markets. Now one in eight of us is out of work.

A fatalist who set down this result among the inevitable consequences of war, would be adopting an unduly complacent reading of history. We are now reeling under the effects of Mr. Lloyd George's "knock-out blow," and suffering from a peace which to broad regions of the Continent has been more disastrous than the war itself. There was nothing "inevitable" in the blockade of Russia, nor yet in the economic isolation of Vienna, and the terms dictated to Germany were a nightmare of inventive lunacy. After all these remarkable achievements, we finally reached the Decisions of Paris on the German indemnity. My own difficulty is to know where I am to begin to count this fairy gold. An indemnity may be regarded in two aspects. As a foreign transaction, it can be paid only by a surplus of exports over imports. But Germany has no such surplus. Her trade figures for 1920 actually show that she imported, in food alone, more than the value of all her exports. In what can she economize? Already her imports are little more than food, raw materials, and half-manufactured goods. With her harvests down to a little over half the pre-war figure, she can lower her food-imports, only by starving. Her agriculture can revive only upon phosphates and nitrates and these also are imports.

Again, in another aspect, an indemnity is paid internally, so to speak, by subsidies from the taxpayers, who keep the army of workers engaged upon the manufacture of unpaid exports, in food, wages and materials. But the German exchequer is already in sight of literal bankruptcy. Its annual deficit is over 70,000 million paper marks. The first year's tribute would add to this another 24,000 millions. An estimate in a recent official British report placed the whole annual income of the entire German population at 100,000 million marks. Take the indemnity with the budget deficit, and it seems that Germany will have to live at the rate of nearly twice her income. It cannot be done, not even if the whole population dispensed with coffins and wore no grave-clothes.

Let us suppose, however, that in spite of the resonant "German No," and the still more imperious veto of economics, a violent effort is somehow made to grind out this tribute. The effects upon British trade and employment must be deadly. In the first place, since the surplus on the trade balance requires the most rigid economy, the Germans must cease to import anything whatever from us.

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They might perhaps take some cotton yarn to be finished, but of fully manufactured goods they can take nothing at all. Our pre-war market then is gone, and with it the employment it gave.

The second consequence is more threatening still. A stream of goods produced by workers living on or below the level of a bare subsistence will flood the markets of the world. From this competition, the coalition does, indeed, propose that our own home market shall be protected. The twelve per cent tax on German exports will be the first handicap. Then our "key industries" are to be absolutely secured against invasion. Lastly, we are promised, in the present session of Parliament, a bill which will strike ally and enemy alike, by placing on all goods from countries with a low exchange, an ad valorem duty which balances the advantage derived by the foreign producer from the payment of wages in a depreciated currency. If the forecasts of this bill are accurate, it means the almost total cessation of imports into England from the Continent.

The strategy of our rulers is, confessedly, to divert the forced flood of German exports to distant overseas markets. These will pay us and the other Allies for the indemnity goods which they receive, in raw materials for our own industries. That, of course, merely disguises the blow to our own manufactures. They will keep the home market, but they will infallibly be driven from the markets abandoned to the Germans. We shall lose our export trade to South America and China—or whatever be the field selected as the dumping ground for the indemnity goods—and lose it beyond recovery. During the war the whole machinery of our war-time diplomacy worked to uproot German trade from these very markets, by liquidating their businesses and interning their merchants. Today we contemplate Hate's Labor Lost. What will happen at the end of the period of two and forty years, when the gratis imports of raw materials cease, and our flabby protected industries have to earn them in these abandoned markets, will be a study for the historian of our decline.

The further development of this nightmare branches broadly into one of two alternatives. Lunacy on this scale means disaster, but it may be either political or economic. It is just possible that the Allies may eventually draw up terms which the Germans will accept. Then it is the economic consequences of the tribute which confront us. It is hard to see how, with this burden of unpaid exports on its shoulders, Germany can hope to raise its present standard of life. Wages cannot be raised, if this volume of exports is to force its way out over all the artificial barriers. Prices are not likely to fall, if taxation is increased. At present, on the figures in the official British report on German industrial conditions, the average skilled worker earns about 12,000 marks per annum. The bare necessities of life in Berlin cost for a family of two adults and two children, about 15,000 marks. The effects of that adverse margin are seen in the condition of the children. Half the children in Berlin schools are below the normal height and weight. More than a third of the children in Munich schools are without under-clothing or stockings, and ten per cent are without shoes in winter. The child mortality has risen fifty-five per cent since 1913. These conditions—and those of the intellectual workers are, if possible, worse—will be aggravated as the effort is made to pay this swollen tribute. Then, while we are still struggling to retain some of our distant markets against German competition, the pressure to lower the English standard of life to that of post-war central Europe will be irresistible. German wages are today barely one-forth of the English rates. As the effort to reduce standards goes on upon both shores of the North Sea, we shall enter a revolutionary atmosphere.

The other alternative is that the mischief comes directly and politically. The French have insisted on their pound of flesh: the Germans have refused to sign, and Mr. Lloyd George, after talking reasonably, has ended in the usual way by falling into step with the lunatics. The Ruhr has been seized by the French. The rest of Germany faces literal and immediate ruin. Vienna may be shaken by sheer starvation out of its accustomed ironical apathy. I have never believed that either Germany or Austria, if they had any choice at all, would go over either to "red" revolution, or to "white" militarist reaction. But a persistent attempt to impose this tribute by coercion would leave no choice.

There will be, there is already, a struggle here against this suicidal folly. Many of us know very well that the whole future of European civilization is at stake. The struggle, for some years at least, will be in vain. British labor has, today, issued a strong manifesto against the indemnity. It is powerless, however, not so much because it is politically weak, as because it dare not strike with the streets full of unemployed. Will American readers forgive me, if I repeat what I have tried to say before in the New Republic, I believe that America holds the key. There is talk, once more, of the Allied and British debts. To cancel them would be, on your side, folly, while Europe continues to dig its own grave. But, they are susceptible of a constructive use. Dare not a strong man offer to cancel them, if we in turn will forgive our debtors, revise the Treaty, reduce the indemnity, and disarm? Debt-slavery was often the parent of revolution in the ancient world. It may produce the like effects today.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

MASSACHUSETTS

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The Price of Being Irish

DUBLIN, March 7.—Limerick is a city of tragedy today. Mayor George Clancy was shot dead in his bed early this morning and his wife wounded in a heroic attempt to protect him from his assailants. Michael O'Callaghan, ex-Mayor, died from wounds inflicted by unknown assassins, and a resident named O'Donoghue was taken from his residence and his lifeless body was found later in a neighboring field. . . . Beyond the bare statement of the murders no light is thrown officially on the occurrences.—New York Times, March 8, 1921.

WHEN my wife and I were visiting Ireland last summer our hosts in Limerick were the O'Callaghans. At this time Michael O'Callaghan was mayor of Limerick. In Dublin we had met him at the home of a well-known writer, where we had gone to be introduced to Arno Dosch-Fleurot of the New York World. It was curious meeting Michael O'Callaghan. On seeing him I forgot he was "mayor of Limerick." I recognized him as a cousin from his likeness to his brother Eugene, whom I knew in childhood, and he delighted me by claiming me as cousin. I thought him handsome, though he was very broad-shouldered and at the same time short in stature. On this occasion he wore a suit of light homespun that became him excellently and increased the air of brightness that went with his fine clear, brown eyes and his definitely friendly hand clasp.

We liked the O'Callaghans instantly. Mrs. O'Callaghan I at first thought was an American, she had a style so little like the indifferent ease of Dublin, and in Limerick, when we knew her better, we twitted her for having bought at least one cloak in London. But in five minutes' talk it was indisputable that she was Irish. She had the flashing darkness of eye that goes with certain quick-spoken and quick-hearted natives of Southern Ireland. She was from Cork, we found. My wife soon admired her as one of the first Irish wives she had met who had ideas and opinions on her own account, though both she and her husband were equally devoted to Gaelic culture, their Catholic religion, and Irish freedom. I liked Michael O'Callaghan partly because of these precious sympathies but also because of himself. There is something that one finds in men and women of the Irish gentry, a quality of heart mingled with a quality of manner, which he possessed to the full. It is kindliness, if you like, but kindliness that unites with a warm smile and the warm tones of a voice to bring one into the inner room of intimacy. Yet his was not that seductive gift for intimacy which means only that a man is socially receptive, and receives more than he can humanly entertain. His nature had that touch of dignity which comes from having been tested. He had had experience and trial, which gave him integrity and candor. This fact, that he not only rang sweetly but rang true, was what endeared Michael O'Callaghan to us.

We went to Limerick in August. The afternoon we arrived from Kerry an English journalist, Hugh Martin of the Daily News, was calling on the Mayor, and after the Mayor had carried my bag up the steps we all gathered into the front-room where Martin quizzed the Mayor as to the recent activities of the Imperial police. Martin was, if it must be known, rather trying. He is a neat, precise, slender man in black and white with good small features but the severity of a moral accountant. His profession has taught him the need of cautiousness, but his cautiousness implied mistrust, a sort of high Liberal mistrust of the well-meaning but impulsive natures with which he had to deal. Mrs. O'Callaghan, who was serving tea, flashed a glance at me that showed impatience, but Michael O'Callaghan beautifully met Martin on his own ground and patiently gave him affidavits and sworn testimony. Martin, after all, was *honest*. The Mayor promised to take him next day to see with his own eyes the four houses that the police had burned to the ground, and to examine the hundred houses that the police had smashed up because two detectives had been disarmed and tied to a tree. "Were the detectives maltreated?" "Were the three men killed by the police, all innocent Englishmen, as stated?" The whole thing was gone into, and Martin was to return next day.

"They're all the same!" Mrs. O'Callaghan declared after he'd left. "He's a nice man and you can trust him, but he's an English Liberal and he won't face the truth. Now, look what he's written: 'the Black and Tans are recruited from some of our best soldiers' and all that sort of thing. How does he know that? Michael says they're hired bravoes, and Martin denies that and tries to put a good English front on it. What good are these Liberals? They have a lot to say about poor Terry MacSwiney, but they'll let him die. And if Michael is arrested and goes on hunger-strike, they'll let him die. And, Michael, you'll have to go on hunger-strike!"

"I know, Kit. I know Martin isn't for us. But by Gad he's willing to come here and see what the Black and Tans are doing. That's something . . ."

A Belgian journalist arrived, and *he* understood. He had just attended a conservative meeting in Limerick and Michael O'Callaghan's perceptive and tolerant comments on the conservative position found an acute listener. The Belgian was at once thoroughly appreciative and thoroughly hopeless. He saw imperialism with cruelly candid eyes. After he had bowed himself out, we sat

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dejected. And then Michael O'Callaghan quoted Kipling with gusto. "You may say what you like about Kipling's imperialism," he laughed, "but think of the fiendish art of the fellow! Yerrah, man, there's no one can sing like him, in his own way." I said, "I never thought I'd hear a Sinn Fein mayor rave about Kipling!" "Ah, but there's surely no national boundaries to literature." And then I found that Conrad and Kipling and Turgeniev entranced him, but he talked of Dostoevsky with a kind of fascinated horror and awe.

This breadth of spirit was not tepidness. Michael O'Callaghan burned for his country with a flame. He had been one of the first believers in Sinn Fein, when Sinn Fein meant self-help and an economic policy. He had been an early participant in the Gaelic League. But with his ardor there went a civilized leniency which came from much knowledge of his city and county and nation. He had pride in Ireland, but deep pride in the right things. The first evening I met him his eye kindled when he said, "Ah, there's great heart in the people, great heart in them." And seeing fully that Ireland had found itself he saw also with a rare charity those Irishmen who had not yet found Ireland. One small incident showed a bit of his character. On Sunday he wanted us to have lunch at Castleconnell, by the Shannon, and we started to motor there a little late. As we rolled along the straight road we saw two black grayhounds ahead of us lying in our path. The chauffeur saw these dogs lift themselves with that aristocratic lethargy peculiar to grayhounds, and he supposed they would deign to move more swiftly when we came near. We swept by them as one darted free of the car, but on looking back we were sickened to find that the other was down. He was curled up on the road in a limp circle. Then his owner walked out and lifted the dead dog in his arms . . . The chauffeur kept on, but the Mayor with an expression of sheer pain stopped him, nodded regretfully to us, got out and walked back. We watched the little conference between the owner, his friends and Michael O'Callaghan, while we remained guiltily in the car. And when he came back he looked as miserable as we did. He smiled to my wife, however, and said, "I told him to come to the Town Hall tomorrow. By that time the dog 'll have a pedigree back to Adam."

We stayed with the O'Callaghans only three nights. Curfew was at nine o'clock, and after nine Michael O'Callaghan would be restless, waiting to hear if shooting would begin across the Shannon. The second night we heard a few shots at 9.15. O'Callaghan looked at his wife with a kind of set pain. "Kit, they're at it again." "Ah, maybe it's only a few shots to frighten them," meaning the belated town-people. There were no more shots until the middle of the night. I awoke at the sound of a muffled explosion. Next day we learned that the police had set off a bomb under a Sinn Fein Club but, luckily for the caretaker, the bomb was planted improperly and exploded into the street.

One death warning had been sent to Michael O'Callaghan when the British police assassinated the Lord Mayor of Cork, Thomas MacCurtain. At that time the Sinn Fein Volunteers wanted to protect the Mayor and so, also, much to his amusement, did the local District Inspector of the R. I. C. (the Imperial police), who was friendly. O'Callaghan knew that if the police came they would find the Volunteers already on guard and so, to prevent trouble, he had to lock up his house and go to a hotel. But when he re-opened his house, which stood back from the Shannon with a long strip of garden in front of it running up to a high garden wall, he more or less expected a raid from the military or the Black and Tans. As a Sinn Fein mayor he was a marked man, and in view of the methods employed by the British in Ireland he never knew, and his wife never knew, what penalty would attach to his outspokenness, his open letter to General Nevil Macready as to Black and Tan outrages, his friendship for MacSwiney and Arthur Griffith, his definite identification with Sinn Fein.

We now know from the press report what has happened to him, in the same hour that his successor as mayor paid the same price. After curfew the English assassins climbed the wall and came knocking at the door. Mrs. O'Callaghan probably walked from the room where we had our long talks, and asked the men what they wanted. When they pushed her aside she knew their errand and she attempted, as one might know she would, by her own young strength to keep them from killing her husband. She threw herself in front of her husband when he came to join her, and in the struggle that followed I am afraid he was driven to save her by coming to meet his death. Then these three servants of Lloyd George and British justice gave Michael O'Callaghan the death that is due to all Irishmen who believe in Irish independence.

It is hard to realize that such an end could come to so kind a man. I think of our plans to have him visit us in New York, our urgent insistence that he should come when his term as mayor expired. His term as mayor expired only a month ago, but not his term as an Irishman. It was because he was a true Irishman that the English Crown forces assassinated him. FRANCIS HACKETT.

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Landscape

THE suburb centres about a great disreputable common, upon which the presence of human life seems to have fallen like a disease. The soil is sterile and pale; the grass is dirty and thin; and there are bald spots, as if the earth were eaten by a kind of mange. The instinct for cleanliness and order seems never to have been felt here at all: the common is littered with refuse and waste in sprawling filthy heaps,—tin cans and broken crockery and papers, all plastered down together by the rain. And among the piles old women are picking in garments like the rain-rotted papers and children are playing with lean dogs as mangy as the common. These children, in their rags and dirty shifts, find the first romantic landscape of their games in the muddy stagnant lakes of the hollows and the sodden mountain ranges of the junk.

Along one side of the common and facing directly upon it, stands a row of shabby frame houses which at first seem mere rubbish, like the cans,—old worn-out things thrown away and defaced and disintegrated by the weather out of all recognition as objects which have once served the uses of life. But, as one studies them, they take on the aspect of horrific rectangular masks, glaring, ferocious and gleeful, but not with the expressions of life; their fixed stare is more like the faces of men who have died in delirium or by violence,—the upper windows like wide-open eyes, with half-lowered shades for the lids; the porches like gaping jaws, with the railings for long narrow teeth.

They might almost be totem-pole figures, the gods of some savage tribe; but they are not so solid and bright as the images of barbarous peoples: they are flimsy, half-heartedly built; they are entirely without dignity or pride; the yellows and browns of their sides are smeared and discolored now. They are helplessly down and out; they are beaten and insulted by the elements. But they do not protest against their fall, nor wish to be decent and sound. They are dead creatures rotting and grinning, in an ecstasy of humiliation, with the derision of the eternal spirit of cheapness and indifference and decay for the effort that builds and makes strong and the long labor of beauty.

EDMUND WILSON, JR.

Bandana Dance

The dance of the red bandana
is not for men only nor women only.

It is for lovers of fire, men and women,
in a high wind and a gold red moon
and light feet circling thornapple
branches burning.

CARL SANDBURG.

The Great Emollient

IT was privily urged upon one of the functionaries of Mr. Wilson's entourage a little while before that administration came to an end that it would be a shrewd and clever thing to do, a good "publicity stunt," to throw open the gates of the White House and make the grounds and the accessible state rooms of the presidential edifice free again to the public. The suggestion was denied admittance. Had it been heeded, Mr. Harding would have been deprived of what has proved to be the most effective possible gesture as he begins his term of residence at No. 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

It beats all what a change has come over the spirit and manners and disposition of this town since Mr. Harding came in. I don't know how long it will last. It is too idyllic to last forever. Partly this new manifestation of peace on earth goodwill to men is due to opening the White House gates, but mostly it is due to Mr. Harding himself. He has undeniably made a good start. He has made an immensely favorable first impression. He has got started off on the right foot. He has quickly won for himself a great body of local favorable public opinion. That is so startling and vivid a contrast to the condition that has prevailed here for some time that it assumes, temporarily at least, an appearance of tremendous significance and importance.

In the local area now under observation, at any rate, the normalcy so long ago set forth as one of the chief ends to be attained, has been achieved.

For a long time the social-political atmosphere of Washington has been one of a bleak and chill austerity suffused and envenomed by hatred of a sick chief magistrate that seemed to poison and blight every ordinary human relationship and finally brought to a virtual stoppage every routine function of the government. It was a general condition of stagnation and aridity that had come to affect everybody here. The White House was isolated. It had no relation with the Capitol or the local resident and official community. Its great iron gates were closed and chained and locked. Policemen guarded its approaches. It was in a void apart. Almost from the beginning it had seemed to the sensitive local intelligence to exhale a chill and icy disdain for the chief subordinate figures and personages who under the President comprise the personnel of the Washington community. This may have been imagination but it had the full effect of a reality. It all made for bleakness and bitterness and a general sense of frustration and unhappiness.

Now the chief thing to report at this early period of the new dispensation is that this miasmatic

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vapor has been dissipated over night. The Washington atmosphere today is that of Old HomeWeek or a college class reunion. The change is amazing. The populace is on a broad grin—old, familiar figures have reappeared out of an eight year seclusion. Countenances that one feared had lost the art or knack of beaming now radiate warmth and light and good cheer. Distinctly the sunny side is up. Indeed, I venture to suspect, that not since the halcyon days when Sandford and Merton sat in the garden with the ineffable Mr. Barlow and discoursed together on the joys and rewards of a virtuous life, has there been so much of sweetness and harmony and light susceptible to local observation and sympathetic record. It is just sweet, as Grizel used to put it to Tommy the while her eyes were little wells of gladness.

It must have been like this aforetime when the moving stars sang together and the little hills skipped for joy. For there is no remembrance with us of former days.

It is now possible for any decent citizen of the republic, becomingly appareled, to enter the east portico or extension of the White House and proceed along the corridor or passage where were displayed the fish plates, sauce boats and other ceramic remains of the Millard Fillmore and Franklin Pierce administrations and so on up the broad stairs that lead to the historic East Room where once the White House washing hung and which more recently has been given over to private moving picture shows for the diversion of the ill President. From here it is but a step to ascend or descend the chromatic scale of the presidential parlor—Red, Blue, Green. This historic little journey over ground long an inviolate sanctuary has been taken by hundreds since the inaugural.

In the very first flush of the new freedom, eager, ardent visitors stood in a compact mass under the north portico or main entrance and stared their fill at all who came and went from the White House. Some of the bolder ventured up the steps and did a collective Little-Nellie-with-her-face-against-the-pane through the front windows. I do not cite this as a model of good manners or as a practice that should be encouraged, but it gave thousands pleasure, it satisfied an eager curiosity and craving for an actual contact with and sight of the occupants of the White House and it has proved to be as tactful and effective a gesture as could have been devised to indicate that a page has been turned in our political history.

The news has gone all over the country that the White House is open again and it has been given an interpretation and significance far beyond its value. I report it here as one of the things that has helped Mr. Harding most in these opening days of his administration and given him a decided impetus along the highway of public favor. It has given him a stock of good opinion which he will have need to draw upon before many months, unless I miss my guess.

But it is in the White House offices where Mr. Harding spends his days that the questing analyst finds in greatest profusion and richness the signs and indications of the new order. These rooms and carpeted passages, lately so deserted and forlorn, are now packed and running over. All of the people you used to read about in the newspapers twelve years ago when Mr. Taft became President are there; and a lot of new ones that you never heard of, but will if they have any luck. Just at the moment these partiots and fellow-countrymen, now rescued from this long hibernation, want jobs or have friends who want jobs. Some few of them, however, just want to "pay their respects," revisit an old, familiar scene and perhaps meet a kindly correspondent who will put a little piece in the papers about them. It is these recurring figures long absent from this environment and now so unaffectedly glad to be back and on terms with the White House who give the atmosphere of Old Home Week to these pleasant walks and meetings.

My contact with Mr. Harding himself has been as fleeting and casual as the kiss of two billiard balls and yet I brought away with me three bright and vivid, if vagrant and irrelevant, impressions. The first is that like all Ohio statesmen he wears trousers that are too long. I don't know why this should be so, but it is. I think the feeling against "high water pants" as indicating a countryman or "hick" must have been peculiarly virulent in Ohio thirty or forty years ago, for all her present generation of public men like their trousers to hang in folds about their ankles.

This, at any rate, was the explanation given me by one of the state's Congressmen years ago when we discussed this esoteric topic. I hadn't thought of this for a long time until I noticed that Mr. Harding rigidly conforms to the convention.

The second impression I brought away is that the President has, at least, two pet words that he uses constantly. They are "becoming" and "seemly." I think it will be observed of him as he becomes a more intimate and accustomed apparition to all of us that he cannot talk very long on any subject without using one of these two words and, perhaps, both of them. I present this facet to the Freudians. Let them make what they can of it.

The third impression that I have to set down was the first and the strongest Mr. Harding makes upon every one. I mean the essential kindliness and kindness that fairly radiates from him. He

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positively gives out even to the least sensitive a sense of brotherhood and innate good-will toward his fellow man. With it he imparts a certain sense of simpleness and trustfulness, an easy friendliness, an acceptance of people he meets as good fellows. It is in his eyes, in his voice, in his manners. I'll wager that saying "no" is one of the most difficult things he does. Abou Ben Adhem, I believe, would have taken to him like a shot.

This outstanding trait of easy good fellowship and good will was exhibited to unusual advantage in his meeting the other day with the Washington correspondents. It had been arranged for Mr. Harding to receive the writing men at 12:30 o'clock on the day of the first cabinet meeting, and after that session had ended, but it was 1:30 before the correspondents were invited into the circular presidential office. At the present time Mr. Harding makes himself easier of access than any good dentist, for, at least, with a dentist in fair practice one has to make an appointment a week in advance, but here, in the beginning, the President allows some senators and such-like important persons to "run in" on him. This easy, friendly practice, which Mr. Taft also had in his first days, throws his whole schedule of appointments out of gear, and causes him to run behind the time-table the competent White House staff arranges for him. Mr. Harding will have to guard his time, as he will soon learn. He is the most besought person, perhaps, in the whole world, and his hours must be carefully apportioned among the besiegers lest he be overwhelmed.

By a happy chance I also attended Mr. Wilson's first meeting with the Washington correspondents and as there can be no fair trial of speed without a pacemaker I remembered that chill and correct performance, for the chief interest in Washington these early spring days is in the sharp and striking contrast between what is and what was. Mr. Wilson stood behind his desk, his visitors filed in and stood in a thickened crescent before him. There was a pause, a cool silence, and presently some one ventured a tentative question. It was answered crisply, politely and in the fewest possible words. A pleasant time was not had by all.

Mr. Harding showed another approach. He met the incoming throng at the door and shook hands with every one of them. For most of them he had an individual word of greeting. Apparently it was the most natural thing in the world for him to do. He made it a very simple unaffected action. The men had come in such numbers that they completely encircled the room in a triple ring. Mr. Harding was in the centre of the circle, very much at his ease, leaning against and half sitting upon the edge of his flat-topped desk. He did not wait for questions but began to talk, an easy, gossipy, chat about the first cabinet meeting of his administration. He went on to other things. He knew the professional interests of his hearers. He told them "the story" of what they had come to hear. He talked frankly but not indiscreetly. The whole arranged, premeditated contact was free of constraint or any hint of stiffness.

So far then has Mr. Harding disclosed himself to the resident microscopists, as he stands in the porch of his high adventure and great emprise. The quality he has shown the correspondents has had its effect upon the Senate and all of Washington. He has revealed himself as the great emollient that was needed to soothe, to heal and to relax the angry, inflamed, jangled, querulous local condition and situation. But this is only the beginning. Whether he has sterner qualities, whether he has toughness of fibre, whether he can endure strains and stresses, whether he can withstand pressure, whether he has taste and discrimination —in fine, whether he is a strong man fit to be President, must yet be proved.

EDWARD G. LOWRY.

The Labor Spy

VI

The Character of the Spy

"I CANNOT," said Judge Anderson, giving his decision in the Colyer case of last April, "I cannot adopt the contention that government spies are more trustworthy or less disposed to make trouble in order to profit therefrom than are spies in private industry. Spies are necessarily drawn from the unwholesome and untrustworthy classes. A right minded man refuses such a job. The spy system destroys confidence and propagates hate."

William J. Burns himself complains of detectives that "as a class they are the biggest lot of blackmailing thieves that ever went unwhipped of justice."

A British report on industrial espionage as practiced by the American detective includes the following:

> There are detectives at the head of prominent agencies in this country whose pictures adorn the rogues' galleries; men who have served time in various prisons for almost every crime on the calendar.

It has been repeatedly alleged, and with justice

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that the detective agency prefers to hire the man with a criminal record. At least

> the fact that these men may have criminal records is not deterrent to their being employed, and no check can be made on the men sent out by these companies on hurry calls.

To conclude, one has the statement of an industrial detective.

> All I have to do is to go to Mills Hotel No. 1, in Bleecker Street . . . In 36th Street there must be sixty or seventy per cent strike breakers . . . engaged in gum shoe work or what they call detective work.

To substantiate the charges which have been brought here against the industrial detective and his spy-agent, it is well to produce certain evidence. No man is more willing to talk to a stranger than an industrial spy. Once he has failed and, in consequence, lost his job with the agency, he is all eagerness to compose sensational affidavits. Unfortunately, the word of a spy is not of great worth, and these charges must rest, in large part, upon the accumulation of circumstantial evidence derived from such exposés and from the stories told by labor unions. They are too numerous not to be at least cautiously accredited.

Such instruction as the following are given:

> Stir up some report on the Western Electric Company. Tell us that the business agents are ready to organize the workers there because I want a contract with the Western Electric. Stir up some trouble with the Buda Motor Company in Harvey, Illinois, because I want a contract there. Stir up trouble with the Stewart Speedometer Company. . . .

And the operative's explanation:

> A man will appear in the organization committee and say that conditions in such and such a place are rotten. The different operators will appear before the business agents to start something rolling . . . supply the workers in the shops with literature, get dissatisfaction into these shops to scare the employer.
>
> A man whose name or code number I do not know was instructed to take a number of pamphlets to the shop and distribute them among the men. This in turn was reported to the owner, who immediately arrived at the conclusion that the shop was being organized and he reinstated the service.

Such documents go on their face value as the word of the "unwholesome and untrustworthy classes." They are to be had in thousands for the asking and must be considered in respect to the cumulative impression they produce rather than as evidence in themselves.

It is, however, possible to illustrate the point in question by quotations from the affidavits of exspies which have stood the test of court examination. I present a group of these, submitted in Milwaukee during the hearings of detective agencies in relation to the Wisconsin law restricting their activities. That they are concerned with a single situation and locality is not of consequence. They are cited to illustrate the subterranean work of double-crossing accomplished by the industrial detective. They are quoted in succession with no comment other than our italics.

> As Police Judge of Cudahy, Wisconsin, I have had occasion to observe the manner of behavior and conduct of the strikers, and they have been well behaved and conducted themselves as peaceful and law-abiding citizens. Private detectives in the employ of the Russell Agency, which, in turn, was employed by the Cudahy Packing Company, came to the city of Cudahy and endeavored to stir up strife and trouble and break down the morale of the law-abiding and peaceful Cudahy strikers. Any trouble which Cudahy has experienced by way of lawlessness and breaches of the peace was due directly to the acts and conduct of private detectives and Russell men and so-called guards who were not citizens of Cudahy but dangerous thugs and desperadoes. *Had these thugs been kept out of the city there would have been no trouble. . . .**

A blacklist and an agent provocateur appear in the second:

> Joe Schulan, being first sworn on oath, deposes and says: . . . that the reason said strike was called was that the officers of the Cudahy Packing Company had *discharged several men for joining a labor union which was newly organized.* That, for over a period of six weeks prior to the organization of the union, there were several men employed in the plant who were not regular and bona fide employees but private detectives in the employ of the Russell Detective Agency of Milwaukee. That the names of these men are Ray Smith and Al. Gullam. That Mr. Gullam appeared before the Honorable the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners and admitted that he was employed by the Russell Detective Agency *to act as spy on the workmen* of the plant, and to join the union and spy on the members and obtain other information. That Ray Smith also worked in said plant and was *very active in forming and organizing the Cudahy local of the union.* That he was very active in urging the men to join the union and in forcefully agitating among the men . . . and he *urged them to go out on strike.* That he went out on strike when the rest . . . went. That he became a member of the union and, on the morning of the strike, *he did picket duty* . . .
>
> That, at the time of the strike, there were upwards of fifteen Russell men in the plant. That shortly after the strike was in progress, the Russell men, Ray Smith

*Affidavit of John C. Yunker, Police Judge of Cudahy, reproduced as introduction to the following affidavits.

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among them, *continually urged the men to start trouble.* That Ray Smith was particularly active in "egging" on the men to "clean up" anyone who went in.*

That Russell men engaged in the plant were not used as guards in the sense that watchmen are employed to guard property, that they were used as *spies, armed thugs and gunmen* for the purpose of harassing and annoying the strikers, breaking the morale of the strike and *encouraging bloodshed for the purpose,* I firmly believe, *of prolonging their own employment.**

In the following, the spy speaks for himself:

I was expressly told by Russell's general manager, Burgett, *to try and get the pickets to cause as much trouble as possible so that the Russell Agency could keep its men on the job for as long a time as possible.*

I also was sent by Russell to Marinette to work in ——— Lumber Co. I worked in the plant as general handy man around the yard. My particular work was to join the union and watch the men and report any labor agitation or activity. I joined the union and was in the union about two weeks before the strike was called. I was asked to join the union several times but refused at first, thinking it best to hold off. The men voted to go on strike and I went on strike with them. Burgett came up with a number of guards. *Burgett was after me all the time to stir up trouble as, he stated, otherwise the guards would not be kept there.*

Russell had to have more men in the union beside myself. I got into some trouble with Russell on account of pay and quit while the work was in progress.

Before I quit, however, and while I was at a union meeting, the Secretary got up and read a letter which was supposed to be signed by Red Garlow, *a former employee of Russell,* tipping the union off who I was . . . I am certain that Russell wrote it in order to get even with me and get me out of there without much ceremony. . . . I packed up and got out in a hurry . . .

It is my opinion that *there is not a union in the City that has not one or more men carrying union cards who are, in fact, in the employ of private detective agencies.* In general the men employed by detective agencies are obtained at a time when work is hard to get . . . In fact I found myself in that position when I accepted work with private detective agencies.**

These three affidavits of a police judge, a worker and a spy tell the story as completely as it would be told by the thousand others which might be cited. Mr. Coach's newspaper is now past history. The labor leaders of Akron have only just been expelled from their unions, in which the Corporations Auxiliary Company employed them.

There is the case, too, of an officer of the Machinists' Union who was sued by the union for misappropriation of its funds. Anticipating the suit, he tried to threaten the union into inaction. The suit being pressed, he made good on his threat by producing the receipts for the stolen funds, all of which, at the instigation of his detective employer, he had utilized for the hiring of thugs to attack non-union workers and so provoke trouble for the union.

Employers and employees alike have made a practice of deceiving each other until the whole industrial world is snarled beyond disentanglement. Strikes have been provoked to break agreements which have become onerous to the employer, spies set to turn conservative unions Bolshevist and more spies to force the federal authorities to interfere.*

James Henderson of the Machinists' Union, "Pitchfork Jim" to the world of labor, is perhaps the oldest and most efficient foe of espionage in the entire American labor movement. As he sums it up, it is not the spying that does the harm but the exploitation of the worker incidental to the spying. The union which has nothing to conceal has little enough to fear from the mere informant. But that the employment and welfare of its members should be dependent upon the exigencies of a detective agency's business does not seem to him a terrible thing.

There has been exploitation of employers and, finally, of spies themselves. For there is reasonable evidence on which to accuse a certain firm of clothing manufacturers of hiring detectives to provoke a strike in its plant to the end of collecting strike insurance in the slack season. And this in spite of the detectives of the strike insurance company, which was also and independently spying in the same plant to secure evidence against the paying of the insurance.

The employers in the case may be very briefly classed. There are those who say, with Mr. Carter of the Western Union Telegraph Company: "I don't like the fellows, but what else can we do." There are those who, like Mr. Kirschbaum of Philadelphia, acclaim the value of the practice and extoll its practitioners. There are those who say with Mr. Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad:

We have a very efficient police organization, and we know in advance everything that is going on, just exactly as the organizations themselves know what is going on with us. We have emissaries in our ranks just as the organizations have emissaries in their ranks . . . We have our own employees, who may volunteer information

*Affidavit of Joe Schulan, a worker in the plant.

**Affidavit of Herbert A. Foster, former employee of the Russell agency in Detroit.

*Iwankew, a Russian Jew, an agent of Armesworth and Cavett, industrial detectives of Pittsburgh and former Pinkerton men, organized a local of the Communist Party in Youngstown, Ohio. He was, at the time, detailed to the service of the Youngstown Sheet and Tin Company. This firm made efforts to obtain his release and furnished bond for him after the raid which he provoked on his own organization and in which, as a blind, he, too, was arrested. Secretary Post refused to release him. He was last heard of awaiting deportation on Ellis Island and still the hero of a considerable agitation.

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and we employ the Pinkerton Service. They are men already in the labor organizations, who may have union cards and have been employed somewhere else. We ask the Pinkerton Company to assign a certain number of operatives to our service; we do not know who they are; they come along in the natural course of events and then we get reports.

And, finally, there is the legion of those who say, with the mill operators of Passaic: "Lies—all lies."

It is unfortunately not possible to clear labor on the score of practising espionage itself. Parallelism between capital and labor is a present characteristic of industrial development, parallelism in both organization and policy. It is a well known fact that strike committees do retain thugs to intimidate non-union workers. There is an organization in New York, The Active Detective Bureau, which advertises espionage service to labor organizations only. Unions boast of the spies they have planted in the offices of the spying detective agencies. There was even a case in Minneapolis in which the same agency was found to be serving both union and employer in the same strike.

All this considered, however, the balance is still on the side of capital. Espionage is included in the Americanism of a great group of American employers, of the Woods and Garys and du Ponts of the country and of their unquestioning supporters. It is a simple matter for the employer to corrupt and dismember the union; it is impossible for the union to return the compliment by dismembering the board of directors.

SIDNEY HOWARD.

(*To be concluded*)

Non-Involvmentcy

"If despite this attitude war is again forced upon us . . . not one penny of war profits shall inure to the benefit of private individual, corporation or combination, but all above the normal shall flow into the defense chest of the nation."—President Harding's Inaugural.

Not peace perhaps,—how should I promise peace
When God has charged his people to abhor,
More than the doom and destiny of war,
The pacts and covenants of war's surcease.
We are reserved for some more splendid fate
Than any Europe dreams of, and the Lord,
Who filled the founders with his secret word,
Means us to have no rival and no mate.

I did not promise peace, but, oh, I vowed
So great a vow that thousands yet unborn
And thousands whose remembering hearts are bowed,
And thousands dead shall joy that it was sworn:
The peace may fail us—but when war appears
We'll take their profits from the profiteers.

A. MACL.

The Bandwagon

THE ROOTS OF THE TROUBLE.

"What are the roots of the labor trouble? They are eighty years old and should be familiar to all of us. First, they are founded on the basis of discontent. Next to the sexual instinct, I suppose, discontent is the most active of all instincts that affect us. Properly regulated, it is a necessary function of success; but let it run wild, and it leads to anarchy."—*L. F. Loree, President of the Delaware and Hudson.*

PREPARING MRS. WARD FOR GOPHER PRAIRIE.

May Allison, the blonde Metro star, is rapidly completing her work before the camera at the company's west coast studios in Hollywood, California, in a picturization of The Marriage of William Ashe, from the novel by Mrs. Humphrey Ward and the stage play by Margaret Mayo. In a tableau scene incidental to the story of The Marriage of William Ashe, the beautiful star will pose as Lady Godiva, on a milk-white steed, clad only in her long and flowing hair.—*Announcement by the Metro Company.*

PREPARING ROSSINI FOR NEW YORK.

During the Lesson Scene in The Barber of Seville on Friday, Mme. Galli-Curci will sing the Shadow Song from Meyerbeer's Dinorah and Home, Sweet Home.—*Announcement by the Chicago Opera Company.*

AN EDUCATIONAL VALUE.

In writing Fighting Fate the authors decided that in addition to the entertainment furnished by the million dollar serial there should also be an educational value to the story. Having decided upon this feature, they searched the archives of the police for strange cases in which criminals used modern scientific discoveries in plying their craft. These crimes were detected by improved methods and illustrated how the police always keep several steps in advance of the perpetrators of evil.—*Announcement by a Moving Picture Company.*

HOW ONE DIES BY GAS.

Mr. Humphreys—"Is it not a fact that the use of gas is the most humane method of fighting?"

Mr. Sisson—"One of the most humane methods, because, in the first place, if you have gas, the death is more certain, quick, and speedy than it is to leave them wounded and bleeding and dying on the battlefield."—*The Congressional Record.*

LOVE AND INTERNATIONALISM.

"We learned many lessons during the war, one of them being that neither of these two countries can get on without the other, and another that neither of the sexes can get along without the other sex," Lady Rathcreedan said.

"We learned, too," she said, "that the great benefits of this life are love, religion and science, and that no one of these things belongs to one country alone. They are international."—*Speech at celebration of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.*

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"To Conserve the Human Resources of the State"

I
Health Insurance

THERE were introduced in the New York Legislature of 1920, as doubtless there will be in 1921, two important bills—the so-called Health Insurance and Health Centre bills—both of which were intended to "conserve the human resources of the state." The Health Insurance bill includes, besides provision of medical benefits, the further provision of cash benefits. In the provision of cash benefits to wage earners by the method of compulsory contributory health insurance the writer believes, but the ensuing discussion deals almost wholly with the provision of medical benefits as alternatively proposed in the two bills. The subject of cash benefits, therefore, will be scarcely more than alluded to here; and views on paternalism, as evoked by conflicting interests, will be ignored. What is to be discussed are various phases of the alternative methods for organized provision of medical benefits to the community as a whole, or in part. It is perhaps needless to add that the choice of the right medical method for the conservation of the human resources of the state is in itself a question of unsurpassed importance.

* * *

The compulsory American health insurance scheme, as proposed in the Davenport bill to the New York legislature in 1920, has, like all health insurance legislation introduced in American state legislatures, borrowed from English and German experience. The bill says to the employers and employees who are included: Form your funds with a view to the payment to employees of the following cash sickness benefits—two-thirds of wages up to twelve dollars a week, but not more than eight dollars a week or less than five dollars a week, cash burial benefits, cash maternity benefits—and all "necessary" medical benefits to employees—but none at all to their families—at scales of payment to doctors to be annually established by the Chief of the State Health Insurance Bureau, who is himself a doctor. Use the basis of twelve dollars a week; collect equal contributions from employers and employees (below nine dollars a week the employer pays three-quarters and the employee one-quarter; if five dollars a week or below the employer pays all); to meet the expense make your own contribution rates.

The permissive Sage-Machold Health Centre bill of 1920, on the other hand, provides, through local health centres aided by the state, for medical benefits only, available, however, to the whole population.

The question is, does foreign experience prove that adequate cash and medical benefits have actually been provided by compulsory health insurance? And, supposing that the provision of cash benefits only has been satisfactory in England and in Germany, does not this fact indicate that the provision of medical benefits should be separated from the provision of cash benefits, and that medical benefits should be provided in a wholly different way? It is evident, at any rate, that German and English experience in health insurance must be taken into consideration.

There is a belief, commonly held, that health insurance was invented by Bismarck in 1883. This is not so. Its roots stretched far into the past, how far, not even W. H. Dawson—the leading British authority on German social insurance—knows, but by 1854 it was an important institution for the payment of mutual cash sickness relief. Dawson makes no mention of medical benefits and probably there were none. In 1876 there were two million wage earners insured. In 1878 Bismarck declared political war on the socialist leaders and had a law passed repressing them. In 1879, he proposed nation-wide, compulsory accident and sickness insurance in order to win wage earners from socialist leadership. It was the development of an existing institution, not an innovation. Many, however, were not insured and the uninsured sick had no recourse except to the Poor Laws. The German Poor Laws were then, and are now, substantially the same as England's and ours. That is to say, they disgrace the recipient of relief.

Bismarck hoped that the passage of a government sickness insurance law, with no taint of poor relief, would attach German wage earners to Prussia and to the throne. Such a law, providing for both cash and medical benefits, was passed by the Reichstag, May 15, 1883, and has been in force, with extensions, ever since. On the whole it has always been popular, but affecting as it did only one phase of the industrial problem, it naturally had no positive effect in winning labor away from the leaders of social democracy.

DEFECTS IN THE GERMAN SYSTEM

Successful as some aspects of health insurance have been in Germany, other aspects have been criticized. First, the Funds have quarrelled with the doctors. This resulted, according to the German Government Consolidation bill of 1911 in conditions "prejudicial to the proper medical care of the sick" and in "serious public injury." The Funds always got the best of the doctors in the bargains they made. The doctors complained and even struck—there were 1,022 strikes up to 1911—but they never could get what they wanted, and according to Dawson in 1912 it looked then as though they never would. Their principal complaint was the refusal of the government to allow them to be paid on the principle of professional services rendered, which, the government maintained, would ruin many funds. Insufficient remuneration was, of course, at the bottom of their discontent.

Secondly, there was the tendency, deplored by the German government, for members of a sickness fund to "resort to the doctor for trivial indispositions, and even repeat their consultations to an unnecessary extent in respect of the same illness." [Quoted by Dawson from the Consolidation bill of 1911.] According to this document, a man who is not only legally entitled to ordinary medical attendance but is paid during his sickness as well, is sure to waste his doctor's time. Minor ailments are naturally emphasized. But this is hard on the doctors and in the long run expensive for the funds.

Thirdly, it has not been possible to prove any specific preventive value in favor of sickness insurance. Eng-

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land's mortality rate in 1910 was only 13.5, Germany's 16.2. There was, of course, no health insurance in England before 1911. The German states pension boards, which are absolutely arbitrary boards of administration of the invalidity insurance system, have engaged largely in preventive work, cutting down the number of cash invalidity allowances from 1903 onward in order to do so.

The democratic sickness insurance funds, on the contrary, have, as a whole, spent comparatively little to this end. "But the efforts of the sickness and accident insurance organizations," says Dawson, "in the domain of prophylaxis are quite subsidiary to those of the pension boards." Whatever has been accomplished in this field by the German social insurance system—and in this regard the German mortality rate is disappointing—must be attributed chiefly to the work of the pension boards.

It will be noticed that these criticisms are all on the medical side. There is an obvious reason for this. The experience of sickness insurance funds has always been the same. What was true of German compulsory sickness insurance funds is true today of all health insurance funds insofar as they control their own policy, whether voluntary or compulsory. For this is the order in which such a fund always works its finances. First, it assesses its members at a certain percentage of wages; in this regard it makes no difference what the rate is, or whether employers contribute or not. Second, it pays the cost of administration, which may be cheap, and sometimes is. Third, it applies a sufficient amount to reserve (we assume the fund is reasonably sound, which is not always true, especially from an actuarial point of view.) Fourth—and this is important—it pays, at a certain rate proportionate to the assessments, the cash benefits necessary to provide for part of the wage loss due to sickness, in order to avoid destitution. These cash benefits are the benefits which have to be paid first, since medical benefits are not much practical use to a starving man. Fifth and last, it provides, if any, the medical benefits.

That is the order in which the expenses are paid in all funds, voluntary or compulsory, which control their own policy. Medical benefits are the last to be paid, and are therefore invariably scaled down to a minimum, either directly or by screwing the doctors. Naturally, in this scaling down process, they suffer.

MEDICAL BENEFITS IN ENGLAND

Lloyd George's attention, according to William A. Brend, was first turned to health insurance by a Report of a Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. He, therefore, made very much the same approach to the subject as Bismarck made. Moreover, like Bismarck, he wanted to "do something" for labor, and like Bismarck, he found—in the Friendly Societies, etc.—a large amount of voluntary health insurance already existing.

The English Poor Laws—which are, according to Dawson, like Germany's, and like all Anglo-Saxon poor laws, including our own—while somewhat ameliorated, are based on a statute of Queen Elizabeth. They invite the poor to accept relief at the price of their self-respect. The words used in the original Elizabethan text were "rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars." One object of this, of course, has always been to keep the poor rates down.

Lloyd George, for reasons, therefore, not dissimilar to those of Bismarck, sought to find a way round the Poor Laws as far as sickness was concerned. At first he thought it possible that cash sick relief and medical benefits might be provided without compulsory contribution by the recipients of relief, but this being deemed financially impossible, he decided on the principle of compulsory, contributory health insurance, which was to be made as cheap as possible for all wage earners.

Then the doctors of England rose in almost universal protest. They knew well enough what had happened to the German doctors on questions involving remuneration. Therefore, they bitterly opposed the scheme. Their opposition ended in a compromise. In that compromise the British doctors succeeded in safeguarding principally their personal financial interests—to the detriment of the other provisions for medical benefits in the bill.

Lloyd George's scheme was finally put through in the form which, it was hoped, would be as fair as possible to all interests concerned, and as cheap as it could be made consistently with its aims. Employers, employees and the state all contributed in varying percentages at flat rates; cash benefits and "adequate" medical benefits were promised.

DEFECTS IN THE BRITISH SYSTEM

The working of the British system was complicated by an unfortunate choice of insurance carriers, but on the whole it has succeeded and failed as it did in Germany. The cash benefits came as a very great relief. Wage earners could be sick without having to apply to the poor authorities; they no longer felt they must work till they dropped. But in comparison with cash benefits, medical benefits suffered.

In spite of adequate remuneration of doctors, other characteristics of contract medical service remained. Moreover, the meaning of the word "adequate" in connection with medical benefits, as Sidney Webb complains, was in fact inadequately construed by the insurance commissioners, although, he contends, they had no legal right to construe it at all. This was an indirect financial result of the increased remuneration of British over German doctors.

Before they put the health insurance scheme into operation the British government attempted to ascertain the exact cost and to itemize the expenses of the cash benefits and of the various medical benefits. To this end actuaries and accountants were employed; but, nevertheless, the amount of expected sickness was underestimated and, on account of cash benefits, the costs rose. These costs were met—they always have to be met. The general costs of medical benefits were, of course, also proportionately underestimated, and though certain expensive medical benefits had never been legally promised, such as dental benefits, expensive appliances, major surgery, diagnostic facilities, eye and ear treatment, etc.—Webb claims that all these benefits were promised, except dental benefits, and quotes Lloyd George to that effect, but the insurance commissioners construed the law otherwise—even the benefits which certainly had been legally promised had to be diminished.

Even so, many funds were in financial trouble; for various purposes, government grants in aid, over and above the flat rate, had to be furnished. What actually happened was that British wage earners received financial relief when sick, and no longer had to work when they were in no physical condition to work; but the medical bene-

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fits which they received were principally those appropriate to minor ills. That was where too much of the money went—there and to the doctors; there was not enough money left for the scientific treatment promised, for any medical treatment whatever which can truly be termed "adequate." Without scientific medical treatment, disease prevention is at a great disadvantage. Minor ailments were emphasized. The doctors did not suffer in their pockets, but through increase in the number of patients and patients' visits and perhaps through the nature of the treatment expected by the patients themselves, a lower sort of professional standard was legally perpetuated.

The result, therefore, was substantially the same as in Germany; there were provided cash benefits, rest and a doctor for the sick wage-earner, without the stigma of poor relief; but emphasis was placed on minor ailments; skimping of medical benefits took place as soon as they became too expensive. In Germany it was the doctor himself who was skimped and this, according to the German government, was almost equally bad for the patient—and little was done in the way of prevention.

It is obvious, therefore, that in any scheme of democratically controlled contributory health insurance, or in any scheme of contributory health insurance where the wishes of the wage earners are met, first, contributions will not be so high as to be a serious burden on the contributories and, secondly, sufficient cash benefit will be paid to keep the sick wage earner from serious want. But experience indicates that in the accomplishment of these ends there will not be enough money left for both "adequate" medical benefits and "adequate" medical remuneration. The more democratic a system of health insurance funds is made, the more emphasis will be placed on adequate cash benefits, economical contribution rates, and economy in administration, including the administration of medical benefits. The word "adequate"—or "necessary"—in connection with medical benefits or medical remuneration will be ultimately construed by a democratically controlled fund in the light of the balance sheet. Under such a system, in view of the cost, no large constructive schemes of scientific disease prevention and health conservation are to be expected. In Germany doctors were insufficiently paid, to the detriment of the patient, treatment for minor ailments was emphasized and prevention was largely disregarded by the members of most of the funds.

"It is lamentable," says the German Consolidation bill of 1911, quoted by Dawson, "that for many years keen dissensions have occurred between the doctors and the sickness insurance authorities, resulting in many places in bitter disputes and a state of open conflict. Disputes of this kind, however, are often prejudicial to the proper medical care of the sick and lead to serious public injury." These bitter disputes were nation-wide, and according to the government bill quoted above, led to "prejudicial" conditions and "serious public injury."

Nevertheless, it is probable that the administration of the medical side of health insurance was better, on the whole, in Germany than in England; some of the stronger German "local" and "factory" funds, although they screwed the doctors—to the detriment of both doctors and patients—took advantage of this false economy to give much more adequate medical benefits of all sorts to their members* and even to second to some extent the preventive work initiated by the pension boards. The large local fund of Leipzig, so often referred to, was in this respect a leading example. It is uncertain how the conditions caused in Germany by the services of underpaid doctors compared with the conditions caused in England by much less adequate benefits from much better paid doctors. In England, treatment for minor ailments was emphasized at the expense of costly scientific and scientifically preventive treatment, [see Sidney Webb and W. A. Brend].

*But not "adequate" medical benefits to the families of members, in Leipzig or anywhere else.

"LIGHTNING DIAGNOSIS"

At this point it is quite necessary to describe that sort of medical treatment which is often given today to poorer people both in England and America, and which compulsory health insurance expands and legally perpetuates under the name of medical benefits. For this purpose, two letters from an English health insurance or "panel" doctor to the Medical World, quoted and commented upon by W. A. Brend, will prove instructive.

> The immediate effect of attempting to treat such large numbers is to encourage hasty and inefficient work. There is not time to make an adequate examination of the patient, and since the great bulk of those who come to the Surgery are suffering from relatively trivial ailments, the doctor jumps to his conclusion after a few questions and a superficial investigation, with the result that serious errors are made from time to time, as coroner's inquests and reports of insurance committees and approved societies have shown. The best picture of panel practice under these conditions has been furnished by a practitioner himself in two letters to one of the medical journals:
>
> 'Sir: Much is said about the 'lightning diagnosis' that busy doctors must make. I hope Mr. Parker will not be greatly upset when I inform him that I often see from sixty to seventy patients of an evening between 6.30 and 9, i. e. an average of one every two minutes. And yet it is very simple. Each patient on entering the surgery is presented with a numbered ticket by my nurse. This, I may say, is much appreciated and prevents confusion and waste of time. I have already seen, during the past week, nine-tenths of my tonight's visitors. To my question, 'How are you getting on?' the answer as a rule is, 'Very well, but I think another bottle would help me more.' The prescription is ready as they utter the last word. A number want documents signed, leaving me plenty of time thoroughly to examine the seven new patients. 'But they are all trivial cases,' I think I hear some one say. Is not almost every deviation from the path of health trivial? Let us look at a few of our tonight's 'trivial' cases. No. 1, chill; No. 2, eczema; No. 3, dyspepsia; No. 4, alveolar abcess; No. 5, chill; No. 6, sprained ankle; No. 7, ulcer leg; No. 8, injury to foot; No. 9, chill; No. 10, chronic nasal catarrh; No. 11, neuralgia; No. 12, chill; No. 13, dyspepsia; and so on. Who will say that one of these is trivial? Yours, etc.,
>
> AN OLD HAND.'

In a second letter the 'Old Hand' lets us more fully into the secret of his methods. He says, in reply to criticisms:

> 'Thanks to an excellent training at the 'London' in the 'Spotting Class' (20 years ago), plus a study of the methods of Dr. Bell (Sherlock Holmes), it does not take long to sum up a patient. When to these are added the mastication and assimilation of such books as Malingering, Emergencies of General Practice,

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the latest books on skin, eyes, ear, etc., I am equipped for my night's work. My tonight's new patients number seven. The first is 'indigestion.' I hand the patient a printed slip, 'What to eat and what to avoid,' and ask him to keep it for reference. After a few inquiries as to the kind of indigestion I hand him my prescription. No. 2, urticaria. I know at once, in this district, that fried fish is most likely the cause. I tell her that two days ago she had fried fish for supper; she admits the soft impeachment, and with a little good advice she departs, happy in mind that it is not S. F. (scarlet fever). No. 3, neuralgia. It ranges between temple and jaw. The offending molar is at once detected, and a visit to the dentist advised. Nos. 4 and 5, chills; quick pulse—'one half minute thermometer.' 'Go to bed at once; take the medicine, and I shall call tomorrow to see you.' No. 6, a man hobbles into the Surgery—injury to foot. I inquire kindly, 'Why don't you send for me?' 'I thought I could save you the trouble of calling.' (Bless them! Almost without exception they wish to save trouble; they are very good.) I advise the man to go home and I will follow at the close of Surgery. No. 7, lumbago.'

It would be unfair to class all panel practitioners with the 'Old Hand'; nevertheless, he describes a type of conditions which is far too common. Six out of his twenty cases mentioned are diagnosed as 'chill,' to be seen tomorrow, but meanwhile medicine prescribed; the patient's own statement that she requires more medicine is accepted without question and the prescription given at once; the newcomer's own diagnosis of indigestion received without examination and medicine ordered; printed slips kept in order to save the time of verbal advice; while the one useful service which would have been worth all the prescriptions, viz. extraction of the "offending molar," is not performed. We can understand how with these methods the 'Old Hand' gets through his large number of cases, but it is not easy to see when he manages to 'masticate and assimilate' the 'latest books on skin, eyes, ear, etc.' and how these assist him.

These large practices are generally mixed private and panel, the treatment given to private patients being essentially the same, but instead of a prescription, the private patient receives a bottle of medicine, usually drawn from a 'stock-mixture' made up in large quantities for all and sundry, the fee for advice and medicine averaging about a shilling. Such practices can only be carried on by means of a machine-like system, and the doctor has rarely time to read current medical literature or keep proper medical records of his cases. Minor surgery is performed in a manner which would horrify a surgeon. There is no time to sterilize properly instruments, hands, or skin. The writer on one occasion saw a doctor at the close of three hours' surgery open a deep abscess of the breast by an incision an inch and a half long. The knife was just dipped into a weak solution of carbolic acid, no attempt was made to sterilize the skin in any way, and there was no suggestion that the patient should have even a local anaesthetic. The girl paid her shilling, but refused to let the doctor call the next day, as she could not afford a further fee.

The big panel and dispensary practices are exceedingly lucrative, but they are demoralizing to both patients and doctors. It is but fair to recognize however, that in many smaller practices and in large practices where sufficient medical assistants have been engaged, considerably better treatment is given.

The fact that this sort of medical treatment already exists, is no reason why it should be expanded and legally perpetuated by compulsory health insurance, under the name of medical benefits. A method must be found promising better results than this.

What health insurance actually does is to load an enormous mass of new work on all physicians, good, bad and indifferent, without any corresponding economy or selection in the use of their time and services. Under these circumstances good medical work is not often to be expected, and does not often occur. Preventive results are, therefore, lessened by hurried diagnosis and casual treatment.

THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

What, therefore, is indicated by the German and British experience in health insurance is that the administration of cash benefits, the effect of which has been almost wholly good, should be absolutely divorced from the administration, at once niggardly and wasteful, of the medical benefits. This is the crux of the whole problem. The administration of medical benefits to those who need them cannot be successfully organized, on a large scale, except by the medical profession itself, responsible only to the health authorities of the commonwealth, and having no connection whatever with any system of health insurance.

How, then, can this administrative divorce of cash benefits from medical benefits be effected? To pass at once, after eliminating all the medical provisions, a compulsory contributory health insurance law resembling the Davenport bill, would settle the cash benefit question, and it is thus that the question should be settled. In its capacity as insurance carrier, each fund would, of course, be allowed to employ a doctor, or doctors, solely to certify the sickness of members and their return to health, but no fund would be permitted to have any other connection whatever with the medical profession.

The provision of medical benefits to all those unable to pay for the service required—which may be within the means of the poorest, or beyond the means of even the well-to-do—can most successfully be organized by a government department of public health. These medical benefits would apply no more to members of health insurance funds than to any other citizens; and health insurance funds would be subject to no specific contributions for the purpose. Provision of medical benefits would therefore have nothing whatever to do with health insurance.

The minimum requirements of such a service of public medical benefits should be formulated by a commission of doctors. It is well pointed out by W. A. Brend that none but specialists can successfully cope with the problems of the health of the state, and that, on the other hand, it is almost always the amateur who makes the attempt. Doctors in American Legislatures are quite as rare as they are in the British House of Commons.

Given a medical committee's statement of minimum requirements for public medical benefits, the appropriate financial requirements must be accurately estimated and a decision arrived at as to the means and the extent in which such financing can at first be carried out. It is obvious that what is necessary at the beginning is a correct fundamental principle, upon which the service can be extended and developed later on.

For there is no good reason why health insurance funds should have really adequate medical benefits provided for their members alone, or why members of funds should be

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overwhelmed by their obligation to contribute alone for such benefits. A system of insurance for cash sickness benefit has worked well in compulsory funds abroad, but insurance for medical benefits has everywhere worked badly. Adequate medical benefit has not proved at all a fit object for wage-earners' insurance. It has been much too expensive. The administration of medical benefits is properly a function of the community, to be available to every member of the community, to be financed partly by fees from those who can pay fees, partly by general taxation.

But before going any further in explaining how such a medical service would be organized, it must be pointed out that the best medical service in the world would be of little use to sick wage-earners laid off without pay and with no money left. Therefore, a system of compulsory contributory health insurance, for cash benefits only, should be organized at the same time. No part of these cash benefits would, of course, be used to pay for public medical benefits; the latter benefits would be free to all, except to those who could afford to pay for them. The principle of all compulsory contributory health insurance laws, as regards cash benefits, is to pay a sum just large enough to tide over the sickness period. This principle should be followed. Contribution rates should also cover the payment of small cash maternity and burial benefits, and might well be increased in order gradually to extend the time of sickness during which cash sickness benefits are paid; but it has always been found advisable, in compulsory contributory systems, to keep the amount of cash benefits at a moderate figure. So far as cash benefits are concerned the principle of the Davenport bill can safely be adopted, with modifications which space forbids the writer to discuss in the present article. The point is that the problem of cash sickness relief should be solved by compulsory contributory insurance methods, while the problem of medical relief must be the object of community action; but as relief measures, the two systems are incomplete without each other, and neither will work to equally good purpose if the other is not working too. Money will do a man, seriously sick, little good if he cannot have good medical attention; good medical attenеion will not cure a sick man, otherwise destitute. He ought to have both.

The basis of health insurance for cash benefits, therefore, which is essential to the functioning of a system of organized public medical benefits, is this: compulsory contributions by all employers—if possible—and all employees—if possible—in funds jointly (democratically) managed (only the proportion, not the existence, of the sickness for which industry is responsible, is a debatable question—see Sir T. Oliver, Hayhurst, etc., etc.); payments, on medical certification, of moderate cash benefits for twenty-six weeks or as much more as practicable, cash burial benefits, cash maternity benefits; contributions at a rate just high enough to pay the above benefits and the cost of local administration and to accumulate a sufficient reserve. The payment of cash sickness benefits on these principles has already been proved economically practicable, advantageous and popular; and insofar as the pecuniary motive to employers may in the future more successfully act to reduce sickness in their establishments, this motive would be retained in equal vigor under such a system for cash benefits only.

It is now necessary to outline the organization of public medical benefits. Such an organization must equally include preventive and remedial features.

II
The Health Centre

THE principal object of an organization of public medical benefits must be, wherever possible, to prevent, or in any case to combat serious disease, with only minor emphasis upon minor ailments. Such an organization must aim primarily to "conserve the human resources of the state," which in spite of its language the proposed Health insurance law, in view of foreign experience, is likely to place in only a very secondary position as far as medical measures are concerned.

The administrative unit of the proposed medical organization is the health centre—say one to each 50,000 of population—to consist of hospitals, clinics, laboratories and public health nursing service, all property concentrated and manned, and standardized by the Department of Health. The Management of each health centre would be responsible to the present district municipal authorities, city or country, as will be described. The expense of construction and maintenance would be met half by the respective districts, half by the state, such expense to be assumed by the will of each district, locally expressed, either for the whole program, or for any part of the program, or not at all. In other words, the state offers to place a dollar of its own alongside each dollar voted by the district—up to a certain specified sum for each specified purpose. The scheme, therefore, is sufficiently elastic to allow each locality to meet its particular medical needs, while to some extent it penalizes the locality which wishes to spend no money at all, inasmuch as such locality would be paying out without return, in general taxation, substantial amounts toward the state's half of the money grants which were extended to less penurious localities already taking advantage of the offer. It can readily be seen that unprogressive communities would thereby be placed in a somewhat awkward dilemma.

Objections to the elimination of medical benefits from health insurance is sometimes made on the ground that only by promising such benefits can the absence of the necessary facilities be clearly manifested, and the necessary pressure be brought to bear to provide them. Pressure will be maintained not only directly in the manner indicated above but also indirectly by health insurance funds separately organized for cash benefits only. Moreover, there will not be brought into existence, as in England, a new vested interest consisting of undesirably commercial interests in the medical profession. These interests, speaking through the insurance acts committee of the British Medical Association, have lately (1917) accused the British government, in pressing forward its plans for school medical services, maternity centres and tuberculosis dispensaries, of having "resolved to allow the national insurance scheme to die from inanition, or by gradual undermining in favor of a system of whole time medical officials."* It is a poor bargain to manifest the lack of medical facilities at the price of creating a powerful vested interest, such as in England is fighting, by reason of commercial self-interest, against state provision of these very same benefits.

THE HOSPITAL.

The hospital is, of course, the foundation stone of the whole system, for it is there that the majority of serious

* Quoted by Edith Abbott in report of the Health Insurance Commission of the State of Illinois, May 1, 1919.

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diseases must be treated. Hospitals are operated for various purposes—there are general hospitals, hospitals for contagious diseases, hospitals for maternity cases, for special diseases or diseases of particular organs, such as eye and ear, and sanatoria or pavilions for the treatment of tuberculosis.

Communities vary, moreover, in the number and range of the hospitals which they support, from well provided compact centres of population to large rural districts which are comparatively destitute. The elasticity of this scheme, however, makes it possible for each district to support patients in existing institutions, where available, or to construct new institutions for such treatment as is required but not available, according to its means. A district might, for instance, vote money for additions to an existing institution either to meet increased general needs or to extend facilities for special classes of treatment. The scheme is sufficiently elastic for each district to be able to supplement its hospital deficiencies as fast as, but no faster than, it cares to meet the expense. Obviously, the most pressing needs of a district would be met first and completion of hospital facilities effected only by degrees.

Clinics may be for general diagnostic purposes, or for other special purposes, as in the case of dental clinics, clinics for tuberculosis, venereal disease, pre-natal and child welfare, mental and nervous diseases, school children's clinics, surgical clinics, etc. One purpose of a health centre clinic, but by no means the principal purpose, is free treatment of minor ailments. An even more useful purpose is that of making a really accurate diagnosis in all cases treated. The laboratory is an inseparable adjunct to the clinic and the hospital.

The duties of the public health nursing service may in a sense be described as "field work." The nurses are to be used "for the discovery of cases of communicable or other diseases, for the visitation of such cases and of patients discharged from the health centre hospital or from any other part of such health centre, and for the performance of such other duties as may seem proper." [Quoted from Sage-Machold Bill, New York Senate and Assembly, March 25, 1920.] A good public nursing service is invaluable to any community, yet is usually lacking, and probably nowhere complete. Their reports contain the information (which is often the most complete information), on which knowledge of the state of health of the community depends.

It can, therefore, be seen that the authorities of the health centre would be placed in the position of military staffs, centrally located, constantly receiving information as to the health of the whole district, partly from the present health officers—who are physicians to be thereafter known as deputies of the district health officers, and to be more closely organized, for local purposes, within each district, but not otherwise disturbed—partly from the public health nurses, and partly from the patients themselves. Upon the information thus collected, the health centre would be in a position to take appropriate action for the protection and conservation of the health of the community. Heretofore, not only has the available information regarding the health of districts not been collected for local purposes but there has often been no local authority to act upon such information even if received. Thus each health centre would actually combat disease in its own district, just as each divisional staff, in a line of battle, fights the enemy in its own sector. Back of all the health centres, in the position of general headquarters of the army, stands the health department of the state, to act as recipient and distributor of information from all health districts and to all health districts, and wherever necessary in the interest of the whole commonwealth, to make decisions of general policy.

HOW THE PROVISION OF BENEFITS WILL BE MADE.

Before turning to the question of district organization, with a view to its effect on the community, the county or city authorities and the local medical profession, it will be well to show how the provision of medical benefits will actually be made to the persons served. In this regard, the first principle of the scheme is that those patients who can afford to pay, either partially or entirely, will be obliged to pay, and that like service will be rendered free to all those who cannot pay for it.

Let us take the example of any semi-compact rural community with a small city of twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants included; let us assume that the essential parts of a health centre have been established in the small city, which is also the county seat.

Any man, woman or child, then, who is resident in the district, whether wage-earner or self-employed, whether dependent or independent, irrespective of financial circumstances, may seek appropriate treatment. Such treatment will be provided without question; afterwards, if it appears that said person can pay but is unwilling to do so, inquiries are to be made into said person's circumstances, and if, or in so far as, said person is found able to pay, such payment must be made.

All that anyone must do, therefore, to procure treatment is to apply to the health centre. To apply, however, means to apply in person, and for this reason it is obvious that only the patients with minor ailments who are physically able to reach the health centre—that is to say, only patients in cities who live near the health centre—will be able to reap complete advantage from this side of the scheme. For persons needing hospital treatment, however, distance is not so serious a disadvantage, since there is no necessity to go to and fro; the same applies, except in unusual cases, to persons whose condition requires scientific diagnosis.

Nursing care, moreover, which actually always does include a good deal of minor treatment, is undertaken by the public health nurses, and is equally available everywhere throughout the district. It is only in the case of such minor ailments as a nurse cannot treat that rural dwellers are handicapped in favor of city dwellers, and it is not, after all, against minor ailments that the health centre is principally organized to fight, but against the more serious forms of disease, which threaten the health of the community.

It is intended that any person, therefore, resident in a health district should, if the district is completely organized, have for the asking the following medical benefits: adequate scientific diagnosis, adequate hospital treatment, services of resident medical and surgical specialists at all times (occasionally supplemented by the services of visiting specialists), dental treatment, adequate nursing, and, less comprehensively speaking, treatment for minor ailments also. Not all these facilities, of course, would be available in all districts, but only in such districts as made adequate appropriations; and some time must elapse before even a single district takes complete advantage of, and votes funds for, every item included in the scheme.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION.

The district administration, if organized, is organized as follows: Each appropriate district municipal authority —application of the scheme both to counties and to all

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cities is legally provided for—appoints first an unsalaried board of health of five members, of whom one must be a physician, which in turn appoints a salaried district health officer, who is the coordinating link between the existing local (deputy) health officers, the district board of health, and the State Department of Health. The district health officer must be a physician whose qualifications are reviewed by the State Health Department and who devotes his whole time to his duties. He may also be the superintendent of the health centre, whose duties are hereinafter described, and in any case must work in close liaison with that officer, since it is both upon the reports of the local (deputy) health officers made to the district health officer, and upon the reports of the public health nurses to the superintendent of the health centre, that the district health board bases its actions.

Each district municipal authority likewise purchases, leases or acquires real property for the site of the district health centre and contracts for the erection or alteration of suitable buildings, subject to the approval of the State Department of Health; and lays taxes for these purposes.

Each district municipal authority likewise appoints an unsalaried board of managers—consisting of seven persons, of whom two must be physicians—of the health centre, who in turn appoint the superintendent of the health centre and fix his salary, appoint a medical board, appoint all members of the medical, surgical and laboratory staffs of the health centre and fix their salaries or fees, appoint and employ public health nurses, and "erect all additional buildings found necessary after the health centre has been placed in operation, and make all necessary improvements and repairs within the limits of the appropriations made therefor" (Sage-Machold bill), subject to the approval of the State Commissioner of Health. Control of the district health centre, generally speaking, is vested in this board of managers, but in fixing salaries and in otherwise incurring money obligations, they must keep the money outlay for each specific purpose within the specific appropriation make therefor by the district municipal authority.

Thus the district municipal authority has three distinct responsibilities, to make the initial contracts, to appoint the district board of health, and to appoint the board of managers of the health centre. But it must be borne in mind that the district board of health, if established, cannot pay the salary of the district health officer without an appropriation from the district municipal authority; and it must also be borne in mind that the board of managers of the health centre are specifically limited in their powers to each specific appropriation made by the district municipal authority. This authority, which directly represents the voters, thus retains in its hands the power to make or to refuse each specific outlay. Governed, on the one hand, by the wishes of the voters, advised, on the other, by an organized scientific opinion, the responsibility for the decision to make each outlay rests finally with the district municipal authority.

The superintendent of the health centre is the executive officer of the health centre, which includes hospitals, clinics, laboratories and all other activities. He is responsible for equipment, internal control and discipline, appointment of employees—except physicians—financial and statistical accounts and records, reception and discharge of patients and inquiries into financial circumstances of patients.

The medical board have "charge of the medical and surgical affairs of the health centre" (Sage-Machold bill). They advise the board of managers in the making of rules and regulations "necessary for the medical and surgical care and treatment of patients and for the study of the nature and cause of death in cases terminating fatally" (Sage-Machold bill). While their powers are chiefly advisory to the responsible board of managers, on all scientific questions their opinion is likely to have a preponderating weight.

PROVISION FOR STATE AID.

Finally, the principal details of the provisions for state aid (quotations from Sage-Machold bill) must be indicated. These are:

> For the construction and equipment of hospitals one-half of the cost thereof, such payment not to exceed seven hundred and fifty dollars per bed established in such hospitals, and for this purpose no aid shall be granted from the state for beds in excess of one to each five hundred of the population affected.
>
> A grant of seventy-five cents per day for each free patient maintained in any hospital operated as a part of such health centre.
>
> A grant for the establishment of each outpatient clinic of the health centre equal to one-half of the cost of installation, the amount to be paid by the state for this purpose not to exceed five thousand dollars per clinic.
>
> A grant towards the ordinary expenditures for free treatments, in such clinic not to exceed fifty per cent of such cost and not to exceed an average of twenty cents per treatment.
>
> A grant of one-half of the actual cost of maintenance of the laboratory or laboratories of health centres not in excess of three thousand dollars per annum for each laboratory and of fifteen hundred dollars towards the initial installation and equipment of such laboratory.

Provision is also made for the "Salaries and traveling expenses of consultants, experts and other employees of the State Department of Health—such sum for this purpose not to exceed two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in any one year." The value of this provision both to doctors and patients in all health districts is evident. Previous announcement of the coming of eminent specialists would be furnished to all doctors desirous of such consultation, for the benefit of their patients. These visits would be of great scientific value to the district medical profession, of great practical value to patients, and in the most economical way would diffuse throughout the state the services of all the leading authorities in their special spheres.

These are all minimum requirements, for which the state agrees to pay half the expense, subject to the consent of the State Department of Health. This proviso is made in order to maintain the work of all health centres at a high scientific standard. But, of course, it is also necessary that the state estimate and appropriate sufficient sums for the purposes desired. The Sage-Machold bill carried only a small appropriation ($100,000), the intention being, perhaps, to allow time for organized sentiment in the various districts to crystallize upon definite objects. To this serious exception can hardly be taken.

EFFECT UPON THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

There remains to be discussed the effect of this system upon the medical profession in each district, a point which is of absolutely supreme importance, since the character of the medical benefits ultimately depends upon the organized work of the doctors.

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Of late years, while the standards required by the medical schools have been steadily rising, the number of applicants for a medical degree has greatly fallen. A high school graduate desiring to be a doctor must today spend four years at a medical school, and two years previous to that in an institution of collegiate rank. Then he must serve as an interne in a hospital for at least one and often two years, without compensation. Thus, before he can even begin to earn his living, he must serve seven or eight years, and it is often three to five years more before a sufficient practice is secured. He is expected to serve most of his life, moreover, on the staff of dispensaries and hospitals without compensation. The position of the doctor is today a very serious community problem, and it is natural that young doctors are no longer appearing, particularly in rural communities, to step into the old doctor's shoes.

Two things are necessary; doctors must be sufficiently remunerated, and their work must be organized in such a way that the efforts of each general practitioner of medicine and surgery and of each specialist be economized to the finest possible point. It is upon these two principles that the health centre is based. In the first place, boards of managers of health centres—of whom two must be physicians—are expected to fix such salaries and scales of fees as will sufficiently remunerate the resident and visiting personnel, subject to an appropriation by a local district authority which would certainly be cognizant of the nature of the problem in each locality. Secondly, the centralization of all serious medical and surgical practice at one point in each district must result in an economy of time and work which is incalculable—an economy for which, in health insurance, is substituted a system involving wasteful decentralization, in that it legally emphazises and perpetuates the present insulated relations between individual doctors and their patients.

Take, for instance, the example, already referred to, of a semi-compact rural community with a small city of twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants, in which the health centre is located. Certain of the local general practitioners would become members of the district health board, of the board of managers, and of the staff of the health centre, including the superintendent; local hospital facilities would be included and increased; a convenient laboratory would be added; a public health nursing service would be initiated and centralized; each local specialist in medicine and surgery would have his appointed hours; dental service would be centralized also. All other physicians who, on account of too distant residence or for other reasons, have assumed no official duties at the health centre, could still bring their patients there for diagnosis and attend them in hospital (Sage-Machold bill), and even they would enjoy increased economy of work and time.

And economy of work and time means to the medical profession improved morale, advance in methods of scientific treatment, and leisure—leisure to which the health centre adds also such facilities as libraries for keeping abreast of scientific developments, beside the facilities of the hospital, the clinic and the laboratory.

What economy of work and time means to the medical profession scientifically and morally, it means even more practically to the person receiving treatment, particularly to the poor. For it means perhaps eventually in the health centre what health insurance has too often promised to wage-earners but seldom provided even to them, the giving —to *all* those in need, not merely to wage-earners alone —of *adequate* benefits. Thus it may be made more practicable, by organized scientific means, to prevent and combat disease and to "conserve the human resources of the state."

The foregoing describes the structure of a system of health centres which it might take many years entirely to erect. The writer is well aware that considerable groups of taxpayers might vote for its non-support through their district municipal representative authorities; nor is it impossible that certain groups of doctors in certain municipal districts may conspire with the authorities to administer the scheme for private gain rather than for public advantage. What the writer argues is that, so far as the provision of adequate medical service benefits is concerned, the health centre is a far better tool than health insurance; but public opinion may neglect a good tool or allow it to be used for bad purposes. Just as certain British taxpayers are today opposing government public health appropriations, just as some British panel doctors are opposing for pecuniary reasons certain government public health policies, so may some American taxpayers or American doctors, common councils, or boards of supervisors, combat the health centre. For the health centre, like health insurance, is only a tool, not a panacea, and its success or failure of course depends ultimately upon the people themselves.

The question of health insurance and state health centres will be thrashed out again in 1921, and perhaps for many years to come. Of the immediate interests involved, it is noteworthy that the New York State Federation of Labor supported both bills in their entirety in 1920. Employers and insurance interests will fight health insurance, whether for cash benefits or medical benefits, for obvious pecuniary reasons; but employers look with favor upon the health centre bill as an alternative to health insurance for cash benefits, which it is not, as well as an alternative to health insurance for medical benefits, which it is. The New York State Medical Society has gone on record against health insurance since 1919; their attitude to the health centre is still hesitating.

The stand taken by the New York State Federation of Labor deserves attention. Their support of the principle of compulsory contributory health insurance for cash benefits, Mr. Gompers to the contrary notwithstanding, appears, in the light of the history of trade union policy as the writer views it, both theoretically and practically sound. But their support of health insurance, on the medical benefit side, on top of the health centre system, is perhaps an unnecessary precaution. For from this point of view the passing of both bills as they stand should lead to funds always having to pay as such for inferior medical benefits —instead of superior medical benefits, which their individual members would otherwise eventually get much cheaper and often free—at an expense which should result, according to the indications of foreign experience, in such a rise in rates of contribution in many funds as would at best continuously tie up and crush down upon the collective resources of their membership. The writer desires to give no advice to any special interest involved in this problem. Therefore, it is desired merely to point out that the labor interest should get, not perhaps more at first, but more at last, and more for its money from first to last, by a system of health insurance for cash benefits only, plus the health centre, than in any other way.

GERALD MORGAN.

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Books and Things

IN Sir James Barrie's Rosalind the description of the hero ends with these words: "He has a nice taste in the arts that have come to him by the way of socks, spats, and slips, and of these he has a large and happy collection, which he laughs at jollily in public (for his sense of humor is sufficient), but in the privacy of his chamber he sometimes spreads them out like troutlet on the river's bank and has quiet thrills of exultation. Having lately left Oxford, he is facing the world confidently with nothing to impress it but these and a scarf he won at Fives (beating the Hon. Billy Minhorn). He had not yet decided whether to drop into business or diplomacy or the bar. There will be a lot of fag about this; and all unknown to him there is a grim piece of waste land waiting for him in Canada, which he will make a hash of, or it will make a man of him. (Billy will be there too.)"

For the pleasure of rereading this passage I am indebted to Mr. William Lyon Phelps, who quotes it in his Essays on Modern Dramatists, and who does not partake of Sir James Barrie's uncertainty about his hero's future. Mr. Phelps is confident. Not quietly confident. Not noisily confident. Just confident. He says: "One feels sure, ten years hence, the boy will be doing a man's work in the world." Now it is impossible for me to explain, on rational grounds, why this remark irritates me. What business is it of mine if Mr. Phelps elects to be more optimistic over this young man than the young man's creator? What right have I to accuse Mr. Phelps of cheeriness? Does he not, in this same volume of Essays in Modern Dramatists, put in a "perhaps" before saying that "a thousand years from now the world will listen to the greatest Political Economist of all time, the author of the Sermon on the Mount"? Does he not say that "all parting of lovers is tragic"? Perhaps he realizes, quite as matter-of-factly as I realize, that most of those who are "doing a man's work in the world" are not doing it well? No use arguing with myself about it. "One feels sure, ten years hence, the boy will be doing a man's work in the world." Either this cheery-hearty forecast exasperates one or it doesn't. Me it exasperates, egregiously.

Do you recall the third act of What Every Woman Knows? The act in which Maggie overhears John Shand, her husband, declare his love for Lady Sybil? It is an act one may put one's trust in. It cannot go wrong, one feels, because Sir James Barrie and Maggie, in collusion, are competently, are obviously, directing its course. Sir James is present, he is almost on the stage, mixing the laughter and the near-tears with that practised hand of his, never letting the mixture taste too strong of either ingredient, designing so adroitly that every surprising whimsicality takes its appointed place in his design. And Maggie is present, managing, managing. Once there is a sound almost like passion in John Shand's voice when he says: "To hell with my career. Do you think I don't know I'm on the rocks. What can you, or you, or you, understand of the passions of a man! I've fought, and I've given in. When a ship founders, as I suppose I'm foundering, it's not a thing to yelp at. Peace all of you." In other words, the act has in it "about as much passion as my Barrie likes."

Such, I conceive, is the impression this third act leaves on most of us. Not, however, on Mr. Phelps, who says: ""The scene in the third act is a scene of tremendous passion—the air is tense with it; and yet, with keen excitement, there is not even a penumbra of melodrama. It is as though the suffering were so intense and terrible that we can have no smell of the theatre in these flames; that we can have only reality—too harsh and bitter—and too infinitely tender—for any play-acting. . . . Here is a decisive battle between love and lust—between the grace of God and the power of the world." If Mr. Phelps can find "harsh and bitter reality" in What Every Woman Knows he will soon be finding, unless he takes care, white rabbits in his silk hat. And I don't quite understand what "the power of the world" is doing in this context. Surely "the world" is pulling John Shand away from Lady Sybil and pushing him back into Maggie's arms? And how about that word "lust"? John's "lust" is too weak, although unsatisfied, to live through the boredom of less than a month's exposure to Lady Sybil's society. Lust, I begin to perceive, is a relative term.

Barrie does odd things to Mr. Phelps, who sometimes sees him all wrong, as in the quoted passage, and sometimes sees him several sizes too large, as in the passage about to be quoted: "J. M. Barrie is the foremost English-writing dramatist of our time, and his plays, taken together, make the most important contribution to the English drama since Sheridan." And sometimes Mr. Phelps doesn't see Barrie at all, as in the following passages—Of Dear Brutus: "Nothing could surpass, it would seem, the skill in construction shown in this comedy." Of What Every Woman Knows: "The construction of the piece is as near perfection as the human mind can make it." Of Peter Pan: "It is one of the most profound, original and universal plays of our epoch." The Admirable Crichton "is meat for men. It has given solid nourishment to democratic ideals for seventeen years and if its substance could be universally and thoroughly absorbed, it really would make the world safe for democracy." Sir James Barrie "has the intellectual grasp of Galsworthy, the moral earnestness of Jones, the ironical mirth of Synge, the unearthly fantasy of Dunsany, the consistent logic of Ervine, the wit of Shaw, the technical excellence of Pinero." How to characterize such a sentence without going back to the standard literature of condescension? "He lumps them all together," says Matthew Arnold, "he loses sight of the shade, the distinction, which is everything here." Or, to quote again from Matthew Arnold: "So dense is the cloud of error here that . . ."

Mr. Phelps is at his best just once in this book, when he makes—pp. 53-55—some penetrating and illuminating remarks about the Legend of Leonora. He is at his next-best when he is describing, rather vividly, Clyde Fitch as a boy and as a young man. Later in the same essay Clyde Fitch tempts him to make some of his queerest assertions. Jealousy "has been the foundation of many farces; but although Shakespeare revealed its tragic possibilities, I know of only one modern play where it is honestly and truthfully presented—The Girl with the Green Eyes." And on p. 162—I give the page here because without the reference you might not believe me—The Climbers betrays him, thus: "It nowhere rises to the heights of thought and passion, where Ibsen, Hauptmann, Rostand dwell in the serene air . . ." As who should say: "Atlantic City never attains the might, majesty and historic glory of Rome, Genoa, Monte Carlo."

And what do you suppose Mr. Phelps thinks "the greatest play since the days of Shakespeare and the greatest drama since Goethe's Faust"? Rostand's Cyrano! Impossible? No. See p. 247. P. L.

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Miss Ruth Draper

THE London Times called Miss Ruth Draper "the most accomplished of living reciters," and the libel threatens to become her label. Above all things a "reciter" she is not. A reciter may be a most entertaining and thrilling performer. Witness Vachel Lindsay, who drives timid ladies to the cyclone cellar and enlivens every canary within a square mile. Vachel Lindsay shows what can be done without any attempt at representation simply by the plunge and release of his rhythm and the immense suggestion of his words. He is, in his own person, the poet and prophet. He proclaims with his own voice the meanings he gives to his ecstatic verse. But even if he departed still farther from the tradition of the scared poet vocalizing (most poets read as though life were a tin-tack on which the world was compelling them to sit), he would still be a reciter, meaning a person who re-cites.

The static element that marks off recitation is not to be pinned on Miss Draper. She is not static, she is brilliantly dramatic, and just as much engaged in representation as if she were completely in costume in the ordinary framework of the stage. The literary productions which the reciter takes in hand are seldom composed with the object of showing a situation as it actually takes place. They do not seek to arouse in us those urgent emotions which respond when we sit in front of a vivid representation. But it is Miss Draper's gift to make us live in the scene she summons before our eyes.

At the Apollo Theatre performance, March 6th, Miss Draper gave eight sketches. These were: A French Dressmaker, Three Generations of Russian Jews, A Class in Greek Poise, Love in the Balkans, In County Kerry, A Board of Managers' Meeting, A Jewish Tailor and In a Railway Station on the Western Plains. The selection is daringly, and rightly, wide. Miss Draper is under no handicap either in regard to material or in regard to personality. She has scope not only in imaginative sympathy, which enables her to comprehend the expressiveness of all sorts and classes of people, but she has the voice and the face to account for that expressiveness in the most varied and telling way. Where most bright people who try to characterize their fellows can do very well with the German but make hash of the Italian, Miss Draper moves regardless of latitude and longitude, seeing and hearing people as they exist. One's delight in this versatility is increased by her delicate touch in every instance. It is true versatility. She gets her effects not by that over-emphasis which is the curse of the American theatre. She gets them, with one serious limitation, by an accuracy that is at once pungent and refined.

Her Three Generations in the Domestic Relations Court is an example of this finely governed mimicry. A slangy young Jewish girl is engaged to a Christian, and her mother and her grandmother are pleading to the Court to break the engagement. Miss Draper forgets, perhaps, the accentuated stoop of an old woman, but the heavy will, the dignity, the power of this Jewish grandmother she portrays with the same artistic solicitude as she does the tired resignation of the mother and the snappy confidence of the Americanized girl. With not less skill she gives the later sketch of the basement ladies' tailor, with his limitless patience, his endless quiet patter, his apparent ductility and yet his certain ability to have his own way. To this sketch Miss Draper brings an observation beautifully incisive. She drones as he drones, and jerks as he jerks, but with a comedy that never verges for a second on caricature. There he is, painlessly netted, as if some one had captured him who had learned how to capture priceless butterflies.

Miss Draper's humor is sufficiently broad in A Class in Greek Poise and A Board of Managers Meeting. In these two sketches the material is rich. The French Dressmaker seemed to me thin: beyond the fact that Madame purred on the wealthy Americans and scratched at her employees, I found no very complex perception, nothing at any rate nearly so good as the laborious obedience of the Greek slaves and the high style of the priestess of culturine. But the deftness of A Board of Managers' Meeting is incomparable, both in capturing these especially priceless butterflies and then sticking the pin in them. The New York high-life intonation, so clamorous as to its good breeding, is reproduced by Miss Draper with perfect art from the original New York reproduction. And not only is the intonation achieved but that actual sense of chatterbox and scatterbrain which so many formidable women manage to dispense. There she is, the pearl of this oyster that is America, our jewel and our disease.

The incident from County Kerry made me admire Miss Draper's closeness of observation more than any other subject in her program. Her accent, indeed, was not exactly the peculiar lilting Kerry accent, and her Kerry woman did not happen to have the color in her feeling that one so often experiences, but outside this the incident was marvelously recaptured. The cottage, the rain, the glass of milk, the invading pig, the polite and at the same time unimaginative curiosity, and then the story of the boy killed at Gallipoli. In all this there was nothing dimmed or dulled. It was a bit of life lifted with such scrupulous care into the region of art that one could only listen in breathless appreciation, and lament that such art should pass, like ourselves, when our accents die.

In the Railway Station sketch I felt, however, that Miss Draper had not preserved quite the fidelity that the tailor sketch, for example, exhibited. This is the limitation to which I referred. The great American or Anglo-American taint of sentimentality seems to me to have infected spots of Miss Draper's art. Is this waitress in the railway station of the western plains at all unlike a Pollyanna waitress? No—and that is its untruth. When it comes to the wreck she is ideal. Good. But she is also ideal when she binds up the brakeman's finger. She is also ideal when she sends out hot coffee and "hams" to the crew with the snow-plow. And she is also unbelievably and maudlinly ideal when she turns over her quarter tip to the Babies' Fresh Air Fund, or whatever it is. It is too much. Her heart doesn't beat for us, it drips. It drips steadily, like the leak in the faucet of the kitchen sink, and it makes me want some plumber to come in and tighten up the screws on this terrible dripping American heart. If the girl had only kept that quarter for herself, I'd have felt she was human. And she would have kept the quarter, in any railway station I was ever in. Besides, I do not like to see this tribe of waitresses idealized. Why do they put so much lye in the railway station coffee?

But Miss Draper's public wants the Human Appeal, and the Human Appeal is here. I do not, however, believe it is natural to her. Her heart is shown not in this crude subject-matter of current magazine fiction but in her precious intuition of persons. That intuition is not naturally mawkish or insipid. It is not sentimentally or melodramatically blurred and bluffing. It is keen, warm and clear.

F. H.

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Freedom of Speech

Freedom of Speech, by Zechariah Chafee, Jr. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

THERE have been many attempts to set up a sure formula, by which the limit of permissible suppression of speech or writing can be easily defined. Blackstone drew a sharp line between prevention and punishment. No previous restraint, he said, could be placed upon publication, but after publication, punishment could be freely imposed. But Blackstone was a notorious royalist, and his views, though at one time they found favor with the Supreme Court of the United States, do not figure prominently today. Applied to the first amendment, they would lead to the absurd conclusion that Congress could not through a censor prevent in advance the publication of military secrets, but could impose the death penalty as a consequence of political agitation.

More recently, to leap to the extreme left, some literal minded persons have thought that when the Constitution says "Congress shall make no law, * * * * abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," it confers a constitutional right to commit all manner of crime, as long as the instrument employed is the spoken or written word. Upon this simple theory Congress could not punish a man who published the dates of sailing of troop ships during a submarine campaign, or who orally or in writing solicited another to assassinate the President.

To the liberal, there is a certain attraction in these mechanical formulas, which leave nothing to the discretion of legislature or court. We would like to feel that constitutional principles which we cherish as dearly as we do the guarantees of the first amendment could be put outside the realm of debate and opinion. We would welcome a formula certain to give us warning whenever we approached the limit of permissible speech or writing, and not before, just as an engineering formula gives warning to a bridge builder at what point the strain of traffic becomes dangerously great. Professor Chafee shows us that no such formula can be found. The amount and kind of free speech which society can profitably allow, depends upon factors too numerous and too complex to be quantitatively measured. They must be appraised by an exercise of judgment, in which less articulate considerations derived from tradition, ideals, and experience play a larger part than calculation.

Perhaps this is an insecure foundation upon which to rest our civic liberties. One cannot follow Professor Chafee's amazing account of our wartime prosecutions and deportations and legislative expulsions without realizing how precarious is the hold which this supposedly fundamental national ideal has secured in our courts and legislatures. We had always supposed that the law enunciated by a famous Chancellor, when he tried to induce a British jury to convict Leigh Hunt of sedition for denouncing flogging in the army, had no place in the free atmosphere of American life. But what of the eighteen months' sentence inflicted by a federal court upon three socialists for distributing leaflets, in the autumn of 1919, denouncing the ill-treatment of political prisoners, and calling an amnesty meeting? We have always repudiated the detestable British law of sedition, which punished "the intentional publication, without lawful excuse or justification, of written blame of any public men, or of the law, or of any institution established by law." But what of the Espionage law of 1918, which punished with up to twenty years' imprisonment anyone who published "any language intended to bring the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States * * * into contempt, scorn, contumely and disrepute." Many a vehement but otherwise law-abiding critic of the eighteenth amendment would be in jail if the law had been impartially enforced!

Such, critics will say, is the inevitable result if we permit any exception to the sweeping command, "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." But it is not the inevitable result. Professor Chafee is a powerful and convincing advocate of a different method of approach to the problem. With a wealth of argument and illustration, he develops a principle which, if fairly applied by courts and legislatures, will give full scope to the free expression of opinion, without endangering the security of life and property. The principle may be stated thus: Speech or writing can be restrained by the government when it directly incites or provokes crime, or when it comes dangerously near to accomplishing some object which the government is rightfully interested in preventing. It cannot be restrained merely because the remote or indirect tendency may be to encourage crime or injure the public interest. Lincoln, in his First Inaugural, said: "Whenever they (the people) shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it." Jefferson said: "I hold that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical." The Communist Manifesto of 1848 advocates "the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." Professor Chafee himself says, "There is not one among us who would not join a revolution if the reasons for it be made strong enough." And the defendant in the Abrams case wrote: "Workers of the world! Awake! Rise! Put down your enemy and mine." With the possible exception of Abrams—whose language may have been merely rhetorical—they were all counselling or defending a violation of law and a forcible overthrow of the government. But neither Lincoln, Jefferson, Chafee nor Abrams, nor the professor who circulates the Communist Manifesto in his class in economics, is directly counselling anyone to go forthwith and commit an illegal act. The exhortation is general or contingent. It is not the language of a man who says to another: "Go, tomorrow, and blow up the White House and the Capitol. Here is the money to buy dynamite." It does not come dangerously near to the point where illegal conduct begins.

The greater part of the wartime and post-war convictions which so deeply shock the liberal American tradition of free speech would have been avoided, if this distinction between direct incitement and indirect tendency had been clearly borne in mind. Debs would not have been convicted for a speech generally opposing the war, and praising Rose Pastor Stokes who had been convicted of opposing the draft for a similar speech. (Her conviction was later reversed.) The Masses would not have been excluded from the mails because of cartoons opposing the war and calling Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman "friends of American freedom." Mere abusive and intemperate language would have gone unpunished, except by the more effectual censure of public opinion. The son of former Chief Justice Doe, of New Hampshire, would not have been convicted for writing, in a letter, that the President was wrong when he said Germany had promised to end the submarine warfare against neutrals, since the Sussex note contained no such promise. A film producer would not

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have been sentenced for ten years, and forced into bankruptcy, for exhibiting The Spirit of '76, a depiction of scenes from the American revolution which the Judge thought tended to make us slack in our loyalty to an ally. Blodgett would not have been sentenced to twenty years imprisonment for urging the defeat of a Congressman who voted for conscription, and for circulating an argument against the constitutionality of the Draft act. On the other hand, all direct counsel of resistance to the draft or of forcible interference with the government's war plans could have been, as it was, effectively punished.

Professor Chafee's rule is not a mathematical one. It turns on differences of degree. There will be, and were, border line cases upon which men could fairly disagree. But in a great majority of cases it would have served as a valuable and wholesome guide. If this principle had been observed during and after the war, the country would have been saved from a series of episodes to which our descendants, if they revive and continue our American tradition of freedom, will look back with regret.

G. C. H.

The World's Illusion

The World's Illusion, by Jacob Wassermann. Authorized translation by Ludwig Lewisohn. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

THE World's Illusion is essentially a Continental book. It could not be imagined as coming out of England or America. The violent heights and depths of living that are portrayed in the characters; the complexity of the substance that makes up their lives; and the range and freedom of the book to use what the writer wills to include in it; the abandon; the unconcern about being possibly ridiculous; the intensity of the idleness, adoration, risk, debauchery, ecstasy and ruin; and the kind of spiritual romanticism in which the matter is so persistently seen by the creator; all these qualities are anything but American.

And you have only to remember the sum of these things to realize how simple for the most part our American life still is. America has hints of these things here and there and her newer writers venture now and then on hints of them. But compared to this world of Wassermann's we are still a frontier, elemental world, not very sure of ourselves and seeing our lives very simply and uniformly. We have standards by which The World's Illusion is violent and licensed and shocking; other standards by which it is formless and unrestrained; by other standards it is decadent; by others an immoral book, Slavic, socially destructive; by others a ridiculous book without any sense of humor at all; just as we have Boston, New York, Texas, Chicago. But we have no standards by which this book is our own. Which is a very good reason, I think, for our reading it.

The author of The World's Illusion needs for his idea a multitude of characters. To make them carry out their parts he uses a sort of moving-picture method of cut-ins; they appear, go with their lives, are cut off suddenly, sometimes at the very top of an exciting incident, and other characters come on. The scene itself is shot about with the same suddenness. The scenes cut from Vienna to Paris, Spain, Russia, Italy, England and South America.

In the midst of all this profusion, the story itself winds in and out and turns more and more on the development of Christian Wahnschaffe, the son of a great German steel baron. He is a youth of incredible beauty and fascination, strangely quiet, far-off, self-contained. From the first his power over the people around him makes him a kind of cult with them. With Christian goes Eva Sorel, a dancer, whose body is described as a flame, inseparable from her soul and her dauntless mind. She meets her death at last at the hands of the Russian mob, in the golden palace that the Grand Duke has built her. Crammon, a man about town, Viennese Epicurean and philosopher, an economist and exquisite in living, in pleasure, in social steering, is Christian's mentor for the first half of the account; and Christian's growth is measured by its distance from him. There is Karen, the prostitute, rotten with disease, whom Christian protects; Ivan Becker, the Russian leader; Amadeus Voss, religious voluptuary, living on Christian; Neils Heinrich, the epileptic criminal; the great actor Lorm, slowly decaying; Lætitia, who marries a green-skinned fanatic from the Argentine; and counts and princes and countesses, the lion-tamer, English lords, and scores of other figures.

But as the book progresses Christian becomes the centre of it. And the essential point to Christian is that he lives more and more with the necessity of getting down to the bottom of human nature. He believes that there is no justice among men that is true, nor any universal justice. No man is to judge another. Before Neils Heinrich, who has murdered the woman Christian loved, he kneels, and Heinrich kneels down before Christian and confesses his crime; his guilt is cast on Christian and he is free, but at the same time Christian is free; and Heinrich goes away to confess to the law and so release an innocent man already accused. "One must kneel and gather up one's soul," Christian says to his mother. In the end he disappears from all who knew him, to become the saint, not of the underworld exactly, but of all human life.

The World's Illusion is about two-thirds as long as Jean Christophe and has been compared to it. But to compare this novel with Rolland's or with Tolstoi's, is to miss whatever point there may be to it. Jean Christophe and War and Peace are realistic books, deeply observant, steady, sophisticated, profoundly true in their details and in their knowledge, romantic perhaps because they are true.

The World's Illusion is essentially a visionary book. It is true only because it is romantic. It is a romance based on cosmopolitan information and reality. The resources of Freudian thought and experiment and suggestion are profoundly drawn upon, with profit and with enlargement of scope. The shaken and revealing states of mind that followed the upheaval of the war are made to contribute to the novel's material and philosophy and prophetic insight.

But all this detail of science, knowledge, wit, poetry and horror and worldly wisdom, are never quite actual; they are always seen through a mental lens; the whole thing is enlarged, gets a mystical halo about it; it is always gigantesque, as the French say of Balzac. By this type of mind much of the precise actuality set down is invented. In spite of its prose naturalism the main current in The World's Illusion is poetic. It suggests a sort of half Slavic, Franciscan romance.

STARK YOUNG.

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The Sixteenth Century

Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century, by Henry Osborn Taylor. New York: The Macmillan Co.

THAT modern "multiplicity" which Henry Adams contrasts with the essential "unity" of the Middle Ages begins during the epoch usually known as the Renaissance. Mr. Taylor has avoided the term in the title of his book, but he has not avoided the difficulties inherent in any attempt to survey the intellectual and artistic achievement of the sixteenth century. In order to cope with this increasing diversity he has had to depart widely from the plan of "The Mediaeval Mind" and proceed, not by means of a general survey, but by separate consideration of the varying aspects of "thought and expression" which shaped themselves under contrasting influences of national temperament in Italy, France, Germany and England, concluding with that one department of intellectual endeavor which transcends the boundaries of nationalities—Science. To his new task he has brought many of the same fine qualities that have given distinction to his former books: wide reading, independent judgment, catholicity of taste, ability to analyze discriminatingly the character of men, a sympathy with times and traditions other than our own, and especially the genuine historical spirit, that rare gift, which, while regarding all that went before the epoch under consideration as a past which entered into it, is able to treat that epoch as "a final and objective present" without concern for the stages in human progress that have since been attained. The loss in homeliness and picturesqueness incurred in thus rigidly excluding allusions to the forms of thought and expression in the twentieth century is more than counterbalanced by the verisimilitude of the resulting picture. We are "clothed upon" with the mentality of the sixteenth century; an atmosphere of the time envelops us.

Mr. Taylor's book is, as all studies in the history of the Renaissance must be, a commentary upon the allegory of Euphorion. "The Middle Ages," he says in his Preface, "helped antiquity to shape the faculties and furnish the tastes of the sixteenth century"; his two volumes are a scholarly elaboration of this truism. In Italy the offspring of this union of the classical and mediaeval heritage took the form of humanism; in France of a certain characteristically Gallic clarification of form and ideas; in Germany of a "protest against whatever robbed the spirit of its due"; in England, in one phase, of an orderly compromise between opposing religious principles, in another, of a spirit of joyous adventure and inquiry. Thus, the culmination in Italy is reached in the self-expression of the painters; in France in the clear intelligence of Rabelais and in the clarifying scepticism of Montaigne; in Germany in Luther; in England in the Anglican via media and in the Elizabethan drama. The more sombre recesses of the Renaissance mind —*persecutions, superstitions, credulity*—concern Mr. Taylor very little. He is interested in manifestations of intellectual growth, in the new ideas budding forth from the thought of past centuries, in the new forms of expression that come out of new personalities and new conditions. His interest, too, lies in following advancing endeavor and achievement, not in the means whereby established institutions are maintained and defended. Hence, in England, his emphasis shifts at a certain point from Anglicanism to Puritanism. Hence, the Counter-Reformation within the Roman Catholic Church does not enter into his story.

There is a certain unsteadiness and disproportion in his treatment. At times his wide outlook becomes overclouded by summaries of particular works that are of excessive length, so that, sometimes through many pages, his book assumes the aspect of a manual or "source-book" and not, as it was intended to be and for the most part is, a general survey. There is a more serious defect. "It goes without saying," Mr. Taylor remarks (speaking of the Elizabethan age), "that the field before us is so enormous that we can do no more than select a line of illustrations, tapping them, as it were, of some of their significance." Such eclecticism may be necessary but it carries with it the dangers of omission, of under-emphasis, and of false emphasis. It cannot be said, for example, that Mr. Taylor has "tapped" enough of the "significance" of the Italian painters. A picture of the German mind in the early sixteenth century with no mention of Albrecht Durer is surely incomplete. Valois and Medicean architecture are part of the French "expression" of the period. The great development in music, the surpassing "expression" achieved by the contrapuntalists, is ignored.

Neither Spain nor the Low Countries come within the boundaries of Mr. Taylor's survey. One must record also, though space is lacking for the citation of errors, that there are a large number of small mistakes, such as the misdating of documents and events. Particularly annoying is the way in which the writer refers to various individuals now by the Latin and now by the English or French form of their name.

The author's ultimate concern has been not so much with the new content of thought as with the expressional power and beauty that the age attained. Yet the sixteenth century has failed to arouse in Mr. Taylor the full measure of sympathy and understanding and enthusiasm that he expended upon the Mind of the Middle Ages. That such is the case is a criticism not of Mr. Taylor but of the period of the Renaissance.

SAMUEL C. CHEW.

Bliss

Bliss and Other Stories, by Katherine Mansfield. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

THERE is a tang of reality in these fragmentary, imagistic sketches—the reality of a little girl on a furniture van riding through the dusk to a new home in the country, with all the vague and poignant stirrings of childhood quickened by the simple though unusual experience; the reality of flickering passion under the sophisticated intellectual companionship of two artist friends; the reality of a superannuated contralto hunting in vain for a movie job. The range of personalities and situations is broad and for the most part revealing. By skilfully sensuous detail the author suggests the vital flame of life beneath a muffling commonplaceness.

The Wind Blows gives an authentic moment of groping, baffled youth. Je Ne Parle Pas Français sets forth with brutal flatness the frustrated love affair of an English girl deserted in Paris. Bliss presents an ecstacy of joy and pain in a young wife's experience. The situation is hackneyed enough in bald fact, but through the author's imaginative treatment it "comes alive" with a hint of the inevitableness of the blossoming pear tree in the garden.

A kind of airy, eager cynicism pervades most of the book and is sometimes a bit too naively insistent. Says the

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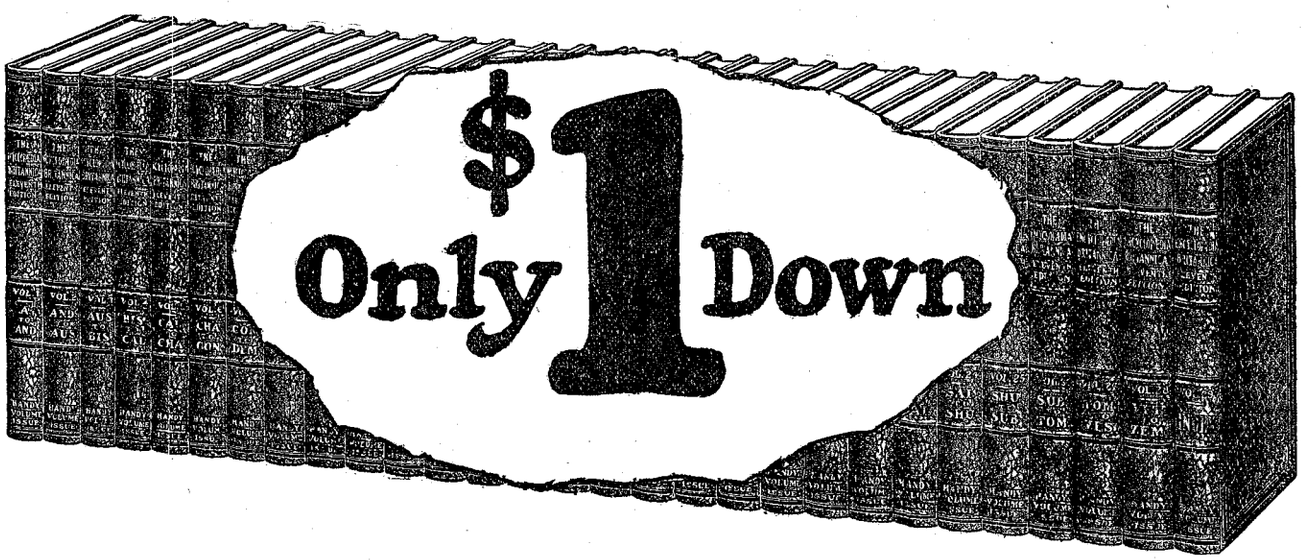

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Contributors

H. N. Brailsford, the English journalist, is the author of The Broom of the War-God, A League of Nations and Across the Blockade.

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Sidney Howard is a graduate of the University of California, where he was a student under Carleton H. Parker. He served with the American Ambulance in France and the Balkans a year before the United States entered the war. He afterwards held the rank of Captain in the U. S. Air Service, and was Flight Commander of the 20th Aero Squadron. He brought down three German planes and was decorated with the Croix de Guerre and the D. S. C.

Gerald Morgan is a writer on the subject of public health.

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